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THE LIFE
OF THE FIRST
EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.
VOL. I.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.





John Ashley Cooper
Lord of Hedingham

THE LIFE
OF THE FIRST
EARL OF SHAFTESBURY,

FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION
OF THE FAMILY.

BY MR. B. MARTYN AND DR. KIPPIS.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

EDITED

BY G. WINGROVE COOKE, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "MEMOIRS OF LORD BOLINGBROKE."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE following work is a history of one of our most distinguished statesmen and orators. It was originally written by men of acknowledged literary merit, who had access to all the private papers of the Earl, and were assisted by all the information concerning him which could be gathered by his descendants. Although thus derived from the most authentic sources, and originally intended to be given to the world, it has hitherto remained unpublished; and a short statement of the history of the work is now necessary to its identity.

Shaftesbury's love of literature was apparent in his descendants for several generations. The assiduous care which he bestowed upon the education of his grandson was, perhaps, the remote cause of

the following vindication of his own memory. This grandson inherited with the title the genius of his grandfather ; and is no less known as the author of the “ Characteristics,” than the first earl is as the author of the **Habeas Corpus Act** and the **Exclusion Bill**. The fourth Earl did not derogate from the honours of his house : like his predecessors, he was distinguished as a keen advocate for popular rights, and as a munificent patron of literature. This patronage, at a time less propitious than the present, when literature stood in need of patrons, produced the following work.

It was a natural ambition for the descendant of so distinguished a character, to be desirous of clearing the founder of his family from the clouds of abuse which the court writers had rolled around his memory. For this purpose his lordship obtained the assistance of Mr. Benjamin Martyn, a gentleman who had achieved a high literary reputation by the production of a successful tragedy. Mr. Martyn and the Earl were long engaged upon their task, and employed great care in the collection and examination of materials.

It happened that Dr. Birch was at the same time preparing his General Biography, and he wrote the memoir of the third Earl (the author of the Characteristics) entirely under the superintendence of his son.* A frequent correspondence was therefore carried on upon literary subjects between the fourth Earl, Mr. Martyn, and Dr.

* As it has been often supposed that the fourth Earl was the author of this Memoir, I insert the following letters which point out exactly the share he had in its composition.

“ MY LORD,

“ Mr. Martyn having informed me that your lordship was desirous of perusing again the manuscript of your father’s life, I take this opportunity of returning my humble thanks for the valuable Memoirs and Papers with which your lordship was pleased to furnish me. These, with what further additions or alterations you shall think proper to suggest, will enable me to give the public a just idea of a character which has been extremely injured by the misrepresentations of party men and bigots; and it will be the highest satisfaction to me to be in any measure the instrument of removing the prejudices which have been unjustly raised against a noble writer, whose works alone, when impartially considered, are a sufficient testimony that he was not only a friend to morality and virtue, but likewise a zealous advocate for those principles which are the foundation of all religion. I am, my Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s most obliged and

“ Most obedient, humble servant,

“ St. John’s Lane, Clerkenwell,

“ Tho. BIRCH.”

“ London, July 22, 1738.”

Birch, great part of which is still extant among the Birch Manuscripts in the British Museum.

In this correspondence the anxiety with which original information was sought is very apparent;* and, from Mr. Martyn's letters, the progress of the work, which was frequently interrupted by his

“ SIR,

“ St. Giles's, July 26, 1738.

“ I take the first opportunity to thank you for your letter, and for the papers sent me at the same time with it, concerning my father's life. As soon as I have finished the addition I propose making to it, I will return it to you again to complete what you have thus far done so judiciously. I am, Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ SHAFTESBURY.”

The third letter seems to relate to the completion of the article.

“ SIR,

“ Grosvenor Square, May 18, 1752.

“ Doctor Hales left me the papers to peruse and forward to you afterwards, which I herewith send; and indeed I proposed to have sent them some time since, but I waited for Mr. Martyn's recovery, who has been confined a great while, though now he is pretty well again. As he is so, I take the first opportunity of desiring the pleasure of your company to meet him here at dinner next Wednesday, if you are not engaged.

“ Your most humble servant,

“ SHAFTESBURY.”

* He is particular in his inquiries for some letters said to exist from Sir Anthony to Henry Cromwell, and also for some papers which the Duchess of Kent had shown to Dr. Birch, from which it appeared that Shaftesbury had, upon many oc-

illness, may in some measure be traced. In a letter dated from St. Giles, (the seat of the Shaftesbury family,) November 27, 1738, after speaking of a recent sickness, Mr. Martyn says, “In the intervals of my pain I have been much taken up in looking, with Lord Shaftesbury, over a great heap of his great-grandfather’s papers, among which I have met with some anecdotes that I fancy will please you, and a great many rough undigested hints that only serve to give one an idea of the extent of his capacity, but are not a sufficient foundation for forming anything on them in his life. These are interspersed with several things in Mr. Locke’s hand, and (which I believe you will wonder at,) some copies of verses of his writing; one I shall be able to show you when I come to town. It is addressed to Greenhill the painter, upon his drawing Lord Shaftesbury’s picture in 1672, which is hung up here and very finely done.” *

casions, opposed Charles’s prodigal grants to the Duchess of Cleveland. He does not, however, appear to have been successful in his inquiries, and all trace of these documents is now lost.

* These verses are inserted, *post*, vol. ii. p. 13.

The allusions to the work then growing under his hands are generally in this strain, either canvassing the materials before him, inquiring for other channels of information, or thanking his correspondent for hints already received. When Dr. Birch's Memoir of Shaftesbury was completed, this work was also in a state of forwardness, since he had there mentioned it in very favourable terms, and spoke of it as immediately about to appear. This passage, however, at the instance of Lord Shaftesbury, was omitted. “I have shown the Life (says Martyn) to Lord Shaftesbury; he very much approves of it, but is of opinion that the following paragraph (‘as will be sufficiently shown in an history of his life the public may soon expect, from the most authentic memoirs,’) should be omitted, and I agree with his lordship, because it may tend to raise the expectation of the people, and is in no respect necessary.” *

Whether the work was completed by Martyn, or whether it was broken off by his illness or his

* Aysc. Cat. fol. 4313. 132.

appointment to an office in the customs, I have no means of knowing. If it was completed, the original intention of publication was abandoned, since at his death, in 1763, it was still in manuscript.

The fourth Earl of Shaftesbury died in 1771, leaving the work still unprinted, as appears from the quotations it contains from Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, the publication of which was not completed until 1773. The work was then taken under the protection of his son, the late Earl, by whom it was consigned to Dr. Kippis, the well-known editor of the *Biographia Britannica*.

This author has left some account of the work, and of the share which he had in its composition, in his notes to the memoir of Shaftesbury in the *Biographia Britannica*; which the peculiar facilities he enjoyed, enabled him to render one of the most valuable in his elaborate work.

After mentioning the materials from which this Life was compiled, and the labours of the original author, the Doctor continues, “ Notwithstanding the pains that had been taken by Mr.

Martyn, the late Earl of Shaftesbury did not think the work sufficiently finished for publication ; and therefore, somewhat more than twenty years ago,* he put it into the hands of his friend, Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Master of the Temple. All however that Dr. Sharpe performed was to recommend it to the care of a gentleman, still living, who is distinguished for his accurate acquaintance with the history of England, and for the astonishing precision and extent of his memory with respect to facts, dates, and persons which occur in the whole course of that history. This gentleman examined Mr. Martyn's manuscript with attention, pointed out its errors, made references, and suggested a number of instances in which it might be improved, but did not proceed much further in the undertaking. At length the work was consigned to another person, who spent considerable labour upon it, enlarged it, and contemplated availing himself of every degree of information which might render it a correct history of the

* This volume of Dr. Kippis's edition of the Biog. Brit. was published in 1789.

time, as well as a narrative of the life of Lord Shaftesbury. The reasons (not unfriendly on either side) which prevented the person now mentioned from completing his design, and occasioned him to return the papers to the noble family, are not of sufficient consequence to be here related. Whether the work is likely soon to appear, it is not in our power to ascertain.”*

I have been informed that an edition was soon after printed off; but that, with the exception of two copies, the whole impression was immediately destroyed: one of these copies is in the library of the present Earl; from the other copy this edition is printed.

As the present copy has no title-page, it is impossible to determine its date; but, from various circumstances, we may conjecture that the work upon which so much care was originally bestowed, was at last neglected, and passed through the press without any further revision.

In preparing this biography for publication, I

* Malone says that Dr. Kippis received 500*l.* for his labours upon this work.—*Life of Dryden.*

have found it necessary to add many notes, and supply some important omissions. I have also subjoined a final chapter upon the character of the Earl, which will, I hope, remove that appearance of indiscriminate eulogy too prominent in the work.

This work is valuable as the authenticated record of the acts of one of our greatest statesmen: in the hope of rendering it yet more so by the insertion of the fragments which remain, I applied to the present Earl for permission to peruse the original papers; his lordship, however, declines allowing any one to have access to them.

I do not of course mention this circumstance at all in the language of complaint. The public have no right to require, however much they may expect, information that can only be obtained from private papers. I only wish to guard myself against the supposition of having neglected an obvious source of information.

The new matter which I have introduced will be readily distinguished. Where any important

omission was to be supplied, it has been inserted into the text; but the passage is invariably placed between brackets; and the additional notes are numbered consecutively throughout.

Temple, March 1836.

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ADDENDA.

Mr. Malone, in his Life of Dryden, is very angry with Stringer for relating the anecdote inserted in p. 20, and with Martyn for copying from him. He has clearly proved that it is untrue. Erasmus-Henry, the poet's youngest son, and the only one educated at the Charter-house, was not admitted until February 5, 1682-3, a few days after Shaftesbury's death. He was admitted upon the nomination of Charles the Second. Malone only knew this work from the quotations from it in Kippis's article in the Biographia Britannica. The refutation is equally honourable to the Earl and the poet : to the Earl, as affording the highest proof of his judicial integrity, since it drew such admiration from an enemy ; to the poet, as releasing him from that imputation of ingratitude which must have rested upon him had he written his poem of the Medal against a man from whom he had received so important an obligation.

The following paragraph was omitted in Vol. I. page 320, after line 13 :

“ The original article has since been published by Lord John Russell, in his Life of Lord William Russell, and the treaty at length by Dr. Lingard, in the Appendix to the seventh volume of his History of England : but although the sums stipulated to be paid by Louis were considerably less than those stated in the draft, the scope of the treaty was precisely the same.”

THE LIFE
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EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORIES of former ages are allowed to be useful, by bringing down their most illustrious persons to our acquaintance, and giving us the benefit of their conduct. But the examples of excellent men of our own country must have a more lively and extensive influence ; because we are engaged in the same interest, have the same constitution to preserve, and, perhaps, ought to pursue the same measures which they have espoused, and with steadiness and vigour maintained. The true spirit of liberty is cultivated by observing the lives of its assertors ; and an impartial review of the principles and proceedings of our most eminent patriots may probably raise up and animate new ones. If to oppose a growing arbitrary

power in every insidious and artful step of its progress—to be first in raising, and the chief in conducting, a legal, constitutional, and spirited opposition, at the expense of ease, health, and fortune, at the utmost hazard of life and in the most critical times, be the characteristic of a patriot, no man ever had a juster title to it than the first Earl of Shaftesbury, who seems to have imbibed in early youth the genuine spirit and love of English liberty. Its generous flame he cultivated and improved in maturer life, and maintained an inviolable attachment to its essential interests to the very last. The love of liberty was his ruling passion. Neither sickness, sufferings, nor age itself could weaken its force. His zeal for the public was as ardent, as the occasion for it was extraordinary. The violence of the court measures required a person as active and steady as he was. A lukewarm zeal had been insufficient, and had only strengthened the hands of the court against the people.

If it be considered with how much acrimony his character was treated in his life-time by venal writers for a corrupted court, incensed at his conduct and interested in his destruction, or with what credulity later authors have taken up all the

aspersions then thrown upon him, and with what partiality they have misrepresented him, it may be thought an act of justice to set him in a true light ; and as this is done in the following work by a plain narrative of his actions and conduct, supported by the evidence of authentic vouchers, I have no doubt but the attempt will be received with that candour to which truth is always entitled.

It is not only a justice to his memory, but may be of advantage to the public ; for if fixing ignominy upon those who interest themselves in a peculiar manner for their country may discourage others from an active life, the removal of that ignominy may incite them to follow such examples.

The Earl of Shaftesbury had himself written a history of his own times, and, when he was forced to fly into Holland to avoid the designs which the court had formed against him, he intrusted it to the care of Mr. Locke, with whom he became acquainted upon the following occasion. When he was at Oxford, in the year 1666, he was confined to his chamber by an illness, which was owing to an accident he met with at the Restoration. He had been sent with other commissioners from the parliament to Breda, to invite King

Charles the Second to his dominions, and was overturned in his passage through a town in Holland. By his fall he received a great bruise in his side, which grew by neglect to an abscess. Mr. Locke, who was a student of Christ Church, and had a physician's place there, was desired by Dr. Thomas to wait on him with an excuse for the doctor's not attending him himself. Lord Ashley (this was his title at that time) * received him with his usual civility, and was so pleased with his behaviour and conversation, that he desired his company at supper; and finding Mr. Locke to be a man of excellent parts, and of a disposition equal to them, he conceived a very great friendship for him, which he steadily preserved to the end of his life. He took him into his house, made him his secretary, and, when lord chancellor, preferred him to be secretary of the presentations. After the seals were taken from Lord Shaftesbury, he, for a very moderate con-

* "Milord Ashley le reçut très-civilement, selon sa coutume, et fut satisfait de ses excuses. Comme il voulut se retirer, Milord, qui avoit déjà pris beaucoup de plaisir dans sa conversation, le retint à souper: et si ce seigneur prit du goût

aux discours de M. Locke, ce dernier fut tout-à-fait charmé de Milord Ashley, qui étoit un homme très-distingué par son esprit et par ses manières, même parmi les personnes de son rang."—Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. vi. p. 353.

sideration, gave Mr. Locke an annuity of a hundred pounds per annum, which was paid till his death. As Lord Shaftesbury entered into the greatest intimacy with him,¹ he imparted to him his most secret thoughts concerning the government, and all his schemes for the better regulation of it; and by his constant conversation upon public affairs, he first gave Mr. Locke those excellent notions of government which appear in

¹ The friendly freedom which marked the intercourse between these two great men is well exemplified by an anecdote told by Le Clerc.

Locke was one day dining with three or four of Lord Ashley's particular friends, men who were all looked up to as the leading characters of the age. After dinner, cards were introduced, and the company were soon intent upon their game. Locke declined joining the card-party, but occupied himself in writing with great seriousness in his pocket-book, apparently absorbed in his occupation. Lord Ashley at length found leisure to look around him, and, noticing his friend's industry, insisted upon knowing what he was writing. "My lord," answered Locke, at last, "I endeavour to get as much as I can in your good company; and having waited with impatience for the honour of being present at a meeting of the wisest and most ingenious men of the age, and enjoying at length this happiness, I thought it proper to keep a note of your conversation, and I have accordingly been setting down what has been said within this hour or two." Locke was immediately called upon to read, and his report was found highly amusing; but the company were so little individually satisfied at being thus sketched in dishabille, that the cards were soon laid down.

his essays upon that subject. In these, Mr. Locke maintains the same principles which were always so strenuously asserted by Lord Shaftesbury, at whose desire he turned his thoughts and study this way.*

Mr. Locke, soon after the death of Lord Shaftesbury, was, in the most arbitrary manner, turned out of his student's place of Christ Church by the king's absolute command to the dean and chapter of the college; and the only reason assigned for it was, his having belonged to Lord Shaftesbury; as may be seen by the king's order, and the Earl of Sunderland's letters to the dean of the college, and the dean's answers to them. These letters have never yet been printed, and therefore the reader may be pleased to see them:† they carry in them a full conviction that Lord Shaftesbury

* “ Il voulut qu'il s'appliquât plutôt à l'étude des choses qui concernent l'état et l'église d'Angleterre, et de ce qui peut avoir quelque rapport aux soins d'un ministre d'état ; et il devint si habile en cette sorte de choses, que Milord Ashley commença à le consulter en toutes les occasions qui s'en présentoient.”—*Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. vi. p. 356.

† To the Lord Bishop of Oxon.

Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1684.

MY LORD,

The king being given to understand that one Mr. Locke, who belonged to the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and has upon several occasions behaved himself very factiously and undutifully to the government, is a student of Christ Church ; his majesty commands me to sig-

much obstructed the measures of the court, when they were destructive of the constitution. This the court could not forgive, and its resentment

nify to your lordship, that he would have him removed from being a student; and that in order thereunto your lordship should let me know the method of doing it. I am,

My lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State.

Nov. 8, 1684.

RIGHT HON.

I have received the honour of your lordship's letter, wherein you are pleased to inquire concerning Mr. Locke's being a student of this house; of which I have this account to render,—that he being, as your lordship is truly informed, a person who was much trusted by the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and who is suspected to be ill affected to the government, I have for divers years had an eye upon him; but so close has his guard been on himself, that, after several strict inquiries, I may confidently affirm, there is not any man in the college, however familiar

with him, who has heard him speak a word either against or so much as concerning the government; and although very frequently, both in public and private, discourses have been purposely introduced to the disparagement of his master the Earl of Shaftesbury, his party and designs, he could never be provoked to take any notice, or discover in word or look the least concern; so that I believe there is not in the world such a master of taciturnity and passion. He has here a physician's place, which frees him from the exercises of the college, and the obligation which others have to residence in it; and he is now abroad upon want of health; but, notwithstanding, I have summoned him to return home, which is done with this prospect, that if he comes not back he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy; and if he does, he will be answerable to the law for what he should be found to have done amiss; it being probable, that though he may have been thus cautious here,

must have been very great, since even after his death it could exert itself on an innocent man, only because he had been Lord Shaftesbury's

where he knew himself to be suspected, he has laid himself more open at London, where a general liberty of speaking was used, and where the execrable designs against his majesty and his government were managed and pursued. If he does not return by the first of January next, which is the time limited to him, I shall be enabled of course to proceed against him to expulsion ; but if this method seem not effectual or speedy enough, and his majesty, our founder and visitor, shall please to command his immediate remove, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the dean and chapter, it shall accordingly be executed by,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,

JOHN OXON.

To the Bishop of Oxon.

Whitehall, Nov. 12, 1684.

MY LORD,

Having communicated your lordship's of the 8th to his majesty, he has thought fit to direct me to send you the en-

closed, containing his command for the immediate expulsion of Mr. Locke.

SUNDERLAND.

To the Right Rev. Father in God John Lord Bishop of Oxon, Dean of Christ's Church, and to our trusty and well-beloved the Chapter there.

Right Rev. Father in God, and trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyal behaviour of Locke, one of the students of that our college, we have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his student's place, and deprive him of all the rights and advantages thereunto belonging. For which this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall the 11th day of November 1684.

By his majesty's command,

SUNDERLAND.

friend.² I do not know any author who has

To the Right Hon. Earl of
Sunderland, Principal Se-
cretary of State.

Nov. 16, 1684.

RIGHT HON.

I hold myself bound in duty
to signify to your lordship,
that his majesty's command
for the expulsion of Mr. Locke
from this college is fully exe-
cuted.

JOHN OXON.

To the Bishop of Oxon.

MY LORD,

I have your lordship's of the
16th instant, and have ac-
quainted his majesty there-
with; who is well satisfied with
the college's ready obedience
to his commands by the expul-
sion of Mr. Locke, &c.

SUNDERLAND.³

² The account of this disgraceful transaction, given by Anthony Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, is highly characteristic of that quaint and amusingly bigoted writer. “In 1672,” he says, “Locke became secretary to Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, lord chancellor of England, stuck close to him when he was discarded, took the degree of Bachelor of Physic in 1674, and afterwards was assisting to the said count in his designs when the popish plot broke out, and carried on the trade of faction beyond and within the seas several years after. In 1683, when the crop-eared plot broke out, he left Oxon, and conveyed away then with him several letters and writings without being searched; otherwise, had he been a favourer of the papists, he would have been ransacked to the purpose; and going beyond the seas to Holland, he became a great companion with Ford Lord Grey of Werk, Rob Ferguson, and other factious people at the Hague. He was complained of by the English resident there to Charles Earl of Middleton, secretary of state to his majesty King Charles the Second, who, giving notice of it to Dr. John Fell, dean of Christ Church, and wondering that he should be suffered to keep any place of profit there, he was thereupon deprived of his student's place in Nov. 1684.”

³ Le Clerc, who wrote with this correspondence before him,

mentioned this circumstance of Mr. Locke's expulsion, except M. Le Clerc. He has quoted some part of the bishop's letter which relates to Mr. Locke's character. These letters were transcribed from Mr. Locke's own copies, and sufficiently evince the arbitrary spirit which then prevailed.

Upon the infamous execution of Mr. Algernon Sydney, for an act of treason supposed to be proved by papers found in his closet, Mr. Locke

seems to have thought that the bishop (Dr. Fell was bishop of Oxford as well as dean of Christ Church) was anxious to prevent Locke's expulsion. This certainly does not appear from the documents themselves; on the contrary, he distinctly declares, that he has frequently had recourse to artifice to entrap him in his conversation. It appears that the bishop was not left alone to the performance of the honourable office of spy; he ventures to speak for "every man in the college, however familiar with Locke." Lord Grenville, in his tract called "Oxford and Locke," endeavours to throw all the odium of this transaction upon the court. It is, however, but too plain that the authorities of his college had long been practising schemes against him, and that it was only upon their failure that the arbitrary power of the crown was had recourse to. Lord Grenville's defence is, however, written in an excellent and liberal spirit: he has clearly proved that no blame is imputable to the *university*, as a body, from this transaction. In his attempt to exculpate the college, I cannot think him equally successful.

The original warrant for the deprivation of Locke has the sign-manual prefixed.

became alarmed ; and as he knew the jealousy the court had conceived of him, and was afraid of a like prosecution, he burnt the Earl of Shaftesbury's history.

The loss of this book is much to be regretted, since his lordship had, even according to the confession of his enemies, so extensive a genius, and was so intimately acquainted with the secret springs of all transactions, that no man of his age was so qualified as himself to transmit them to posterity. Most writers of history are so far removed from the knowledge of these, that their works must necessarily be very defective : for being never admitted into the cabinet, or even near it, they know the motives of very few actions ; yet, being unwilling to appear ignorant of them, they will either upon hearsay evidence (which is seldom to be credited), or from their own conjectures, assign reasons for what they relate, which may, and probably must, be remote from the truth : nay, they often give an erroneous account of the actions themselves.

Some loose papers, part of this work, are yet remaining : the following passage is transcribed from them, as it shows the candour with which

he entered upon it. “Whoever considers the number and the power of those adversaries I have met with, and how studiously they have, under the authority of both church and state, dispersed the most malicious slanders of me, will think it necessary that in this I follow the French fashion, and write my own memoirs, that it may appear to the world on what ground or motives they came to be my enemies, and with what truth and justice they have prosecuted their quarrel; and if in this whole narration they find me false or partial in any particular, I give up the whole to whatever censure they will make.”

He began his history from the Reformation. He seems to have traced out the springs, and to have marked the progress, of the several differences between the crown and the people, which at last produced the civil war. From hence he observed what was defective in the constitution, for securing, in a better manner, the civil and religious rights of the people. He was particularly excellent in his characters. Some few are remaining in fragments of his papers; King Charles the Second’s, the Duke of York’s, the Duchess of Portsmouth’s, and the Earl of Danby’s are drawn with great spirit. In the

king's there are proofs of a real affection for him. He says, that if he had been so happy as to have been born a private man, he would have been much beloved; for he had parts, good-nature, and excellent breeding. But being a prince, by his pleasures, his indolence, his confidence in a minister whose abilities were not equal to the trust, and his complaisance to a brother whose person he did not love, and whose understanding and qualities he despised, he brought himself to such an unhappy state, that no one person could place dependence on him. Lord Shaftesbury certainly had a love for the king. This appears by all his speeches, even when he was most at enmity with the court, and when with great boldness he censured its proceedings. As this affection to the king was manifested during his variance with the court, and he had too much frankness to disguise his opinion, and to conceal his displeasure with the measures that had been taken, it cannot be conceived that he would feign a tenderness which he did not possess.

Mr. Locke, by way of reparation for burning the original memoir, intended afterwards to write the history of this illustrious statesman, and in his works there are some particular facts which he put

down as they occurred to his memory.⁴ The editor of his posthumous works informs us, that he would have gone on farther if time and health had permitted him; but that he was interrupted by death before he could make any great progress.

The few particulars which he has written must give every reader a high idea of his lordship. It is a great misfortune that Mr. Locke did not finish his life, as he was so long and so intimately acquainted with him.

Mr. P. Coste, who lived many years in the same family with Mr. Locke, in his character of him has the following passages:—

“ Mr. Locke loved to confirm his opinion on any subject by that of the famous Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom he took a delight to give the

⁴ These are called “ Memoirs relating to the Life of Anthony first Earl of Shaftesbury,” and are printed in the fourth volume of the 4to edition of Locke’s Works: there are also some further particulars contained in the tract called “A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country,” by the same author, and printed in the same volume. The court party ordered this letter to be burnt by the common hangman, and so it was. “ But,” says Andrew Marvel, “ the sparks of it will eternally fly in their faces.” I mention this tract more particularly because it was at the time supposed to have been in a great measure dictated by Lord Shaftesbury. Wood and Walpole reckon it among his works.

honour of all the things which he thought he had learnt from his conversation."

"Nothing ever gave him a more sensible pleasure than the esteem which that earl conceived for him, almost the first moment he saw him, and which he afterwards preserved as long as he lived; and, indeed, nothing sets Mr. Locke's merit in a brighter light, than his having had the constant esteem of my Lord Shaftesbury, the greatest genius of his age, who was superior to so many eminent and able men that shone at the same time in the court of Charles the Second, not only for his resolution and intrepidity in maintaining the true interests of his country, but also for his great abilities in the conduct of the most knotty affairs. When Mr. Locke studied at Oxford, he fell by accident into his company in the manner already mentioned; and one single conversation with that great man won him his esteem and confidence to such a degree, that soon afterwards my Lord Shaftesbury took him to be near his person, and kept him as long as Mr. Locke's health or affairs would permit. That earl particularly excelled in the knowledge of men. It was impossible to catch his esteem by moderate qualities: this his enemies themselves could never

deny. I wish I could, on the other hand, give a full notion of the idea which Mr. Locke had of that nobleman's merit. He lost no opportunity of speaking of it, and that in a manner which sufficiently showed he spoke from his heart. Though my Lord Shaftesbury had not spent much time in reading, nothing, in Mr. Locke's opinion, could be more just than the judgment he passed upon the books which fell into his hands. He presently saw through the design of a work; and without much heeding the words, which he ran over with vast rapidity, he immediately found whether the author was master of his subject, and whether his reasonings were exact. But, above all, Mr. Locke admired in him that penetration, that presence of mind, which always prompted him with the best expedients in the most desperate cases; that noble boldness which appeared in all his public discourses,—a boldness ever guided by a solid judgment, which, never allowing him to say anything but what was proper, regulated his least word, and baffled the untiring vigilance of his enemies.”⁵

⁵ Coste proceeds to ascribe to the patronage of Lord Shaftesbury that knowledge of the world and leisure for study which enabled Locke afterwards to enrich our literature and immortalize himself.

M. Le Clerc, in his eulogium upon Mr. Locke, says, that “to the end of his life he recollects with the greatest pleasure the delight which he had found in the conversation of Lord Shaftesbury; and when he spoke of his good qualities, it was not only with esteem, but even with admiration. If those who knew the penetration and sincerity of Mr. Locke conceived a high idea of Lord Ashley, those who have had any acquaintance with this last cannot doubt but Mr. Locke was a man of an uncommon genius, when they think of the esteem which this lord had for him.” *

He was, says M. Le Clerc, “a nobleman that had an uncommon vivacity and penetration, a solid judgment, an excellent memory, and a great and generous way of thinking; and with all this, a gay and lively temper, which he pre-

* “M. Locke a rappelé pendant toute sa vie avec beaucoup de plaisir la mémoire de la satisfaction qu'il avoit eue dans la conversation de ce seigneur; et lorsqu'il parloit de ses bonnes qualités, non seulement il en parloit avec estime, mais encore avec admiration. Si ceux qui ont bien connu la pénétration et

la sincérité de M. Locke conçoivent par là une haute idée de Milord Ashley, ceux qui ont eu quelque commerce avec ce dernier ne peuvent pas douter que M. Locke ne fût un homme d'un génie peu commun, lorsqu'ils pensent à l'estime que ce seigneur avoit pour lui.”—Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. vi. p. 355.

served in the greatest perplexity of his affairs. He had read much, but had still more knowledge of the world; so that he acquired in a short time a very great experience, and became the greatest statesman in England, and at an age in which others only begin their acquaintance with public affairs. The posts which he was in, from the time King Charles the Second employed him, prevented his application then to much reading; but he had such an apprehension, that in a cursory view of a book, he would discover the strength and weakness of it, in a better manner than others who read it at leisure. He was easy and open in his behaviour, a great enemy to compliments, and had not the least formality in him; so that one was not under any constraint with him, but had all the liberty to be wished. He could familiarize himself with all the world, without any meanness, or doing anything unworthy of his rank. He could not bear any servility, not only in himself, but even in his inferiors.” *

Though Lord Shaftesbury was affable in his temper, and free from pride towards his inferiors, yet where he entertained contempt for an

* Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. vi.

individual, he was too apt to show it. This, however, was never founded on any disparity of fortune, but appeared only when persons assumed a merit to which they had no just title, and when they were too busy in matters beyond their knowledge. This behaviour undoubtedly created him many enemies, and gave birth to most of the slanders which were published of him.

These attacks were very numerous. They provoked, however, no other feeling in his lordship than mere contempt : they could not rouse him to an answer, or to take any notice of them, though several occasional discourses were written by him, or by his direction. They never even moved him to resentment; for where the authors had any real worth, he readily showed his sense of it, and his forgiveness of their abuses. An instance of this appears with regard to Dryden, whose fortune and spirit were vastly inferior to his genius. As the greatness of this made him useful to the court, the want of the other threw him into its power ; and he was often forced to prostitute his talents to its pleasure or revenge. His “*Absalom and Achitophel*” is one of the finest satires that had then ever appeared.

The design of it was to expose several lords and others who had opposed the measures of the court. As Lord Shaftesbury for some years stood the foremost of these, the chief force of the satire is pointed at him ; yet, after the poem had been published, when his lordship, as a governor of the Charter-house, had the nomination of a scholar, without any application from Dryden, or from any person in his favour, he gave it to one of his sons. Upon this, Dryden, to be grateful, resolved to show him some justice in this very poem ; and therefore celebrated his conduct as lord chancellor in the following lines :

In Israel's court ne'er sat an Abethdin
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean,
Unbrib'd, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of dispatch, and easy of access.

When King Charles read these lines, which were not in the first edition, he told Dryden that he had spoiled all which he had said of Shaftesbury by them.

I shall not in this relation enter into any public affairs which have been mentioned by other authors ; unless where it may be necessary to lead the reader into a knowledge of his lordship's

conduct in them. The facts which are told by Mr. Locke, I have inserted in the order in which they happened; and likewise a letter of his to Mr. Stringer, never yet published. This was written from Oxford during the sitting of the parliament there, and gives an account of some transactions in it; and of one particular affair, viz. the withdrawing of a bill of great consequence from the table of the house of lords in the former parliament, when it was ready for the royal assent. The few speeches which remain of Lord Shaftesbury's I have introduced in those periods of his life in which they were spoken. The other parts of the relation are taken chiefly from the loose papers of his lordship, or from a manuscript account written by a gentleman who was many years near his person. This was Thomas Stringer, Esq. of Joychurch, near Salisbury, whom I just now mentioned, who had an excellent understanding, great knowledge in the law, and a warm affection for the interest of his country. He had a remarkable probity and evenness of temper, and was strictly faithful to his trust.⁶ These qualifica-

⁶ This Mr. Stringer, from the intimacy he enjoyed with the Shaftesbury family, must have possessed the very best oppor-

tions made him worthy of the confidence of Lord Shaftesbury, and entitled him to the friendship of several persons of the first rank, as the Duke of Kingston, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Somers, Lord Lexington, the Earl of Fitzwalter, Edward Ash, Esq. Commissioner of Trade, and others. He was a familiar acquaintance of Mr. Locke. He died in 1702, being greatly esteemed by the gentlemen of the country where he resided. He had, for some years before, been chairman of the quarter sessions, when they were held at Salisbury.

As I have mentioned two very distinguished names, Mr. Locke and M. Le Clerc, who have spoken favourably of Lord Shaftesbury, it may not now be improper just to take notice of the principal authors who have mentioned him to his disadvantage, and of the particular prejudices which some of them had against him. It may be thought too much to attribute all they say to this motive; but if their prejudices can

tunities for writing the life of his early patron. By a letter written to that gentleman by the third Earl, while Lord Ashley, dated 1695, and preserved among the Harleian MSS., it appears that he then enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the grandson, as he had formerly that of the grandfather.

be pointed out, and it can be uncontestedly proved that their accounts of the many facts which they relate are erroneous, it is not unfair to suppose that they wrote under the influence of their private passions.

Sir Roger L'Estrange, who was continually publishing against him invectives which generally died with the day, was the noted hireling of the court. He had, besides this, a particular motive for his spleen against Lord Shaftesbury. His lordship, as chairman of a committee of the house of lords, made a report to the house, that Mr. Roger L'Estrange had been several times at mass, and had owned himself to be of the church of Rome : Mr. L'Estrange acted in the commission of peace at this time, notwithstanding the test act of 1672, which incapacitated every papist. Their lordships summoned him to attend, which summons he did not obey ; and they then ordered that he should not be permitted to license the printing of any more books, and that the lord chancellor should put him out of the commission.⁷

⁷ L'Estrange, however, very solemnly denied this charge. There is still extant, among the MSS. in the British Museum, the original of a declaration made by him at St. Giles's church upon the sacrament, in which he says he never was in a popish

Sir William Temple justly enjoys the character of a very elegant author ; but in his political conduct and writings, he carried his notions of prerogative and paternal dominion to a very great height ; and was, therefore, in his public principles directly opposite to Lord Shaftesbury. When his lordship was chancellor of the exchequer, he gave Sir William a private reason for his resentment, by opposing the king's giving him a present of plate, which he demanded upon his coming from Holland. This Mr. Stringer mentions in his manuscript, as does M. Le Clerc in his eulogium upon Mr. Locke.* To this may be added another cause of Sir William Temple's anger. Lord Shaftesbury was very free in his censures of the

* “ Cependant le Chevalier Temple a parlé désavantageusement de lui, dans ses mémoires, et a insinué qu'il étoit l'un des auteurs de la guerre de 1672, contre les Provinces Unies. Mais on doit savoir qu'il n'aimoit pas Milord Shaftesbury, parce que ce dernier, étant chancelier de l'échiquier, s'étoit opposé à un présent en

vaisselle d'argent, qu'il démandoit au roi, au retour de son ambassade, selon un usage, que le chancelier jugeoit très préjudiciable aux finances du roi. Cette raison est assez forte pour ne pas se fier à Mons. Temple sur le chapitre de Milord Shaftesbury.” — Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. vi. p. 364.

chapel in England from the year 1660 to that date (the 12th April 1682) ; and that he neither was, nor ever had been, nor ever pretended to be, in the communion of the Church of Rome.

treaty of Nimeguen ; he exclaimed against it openly, as it dissolved the grand alliance, which a few years before had been formed against the power of France ; in forming which he had a great share. I have by me a short state of the nation which Lord Shaftesbury drew up at the meeting of the new parliament, March 6, 1668-9. In this he says, “ That this treaty was concluded by the mediation, or more properly enforced by the English court : that by this treaty the crown of England received no honour, nor any visible advantage ; but was left exposed, as well as the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the States General, to the mercy of the French : that all the arts imaginable were used to draw off the States from the confederacy : that notwithstanding the English nation in general, and the parliament, desired a war with France, and our court had made a league with the States to enter into one, yet these, seeing the influence which the court of France had over our councils, and being jealous of the English forces, which were sent into Flanders to amuse the parliament, and draw supplies from them, by the persuasion of our minister made a separate peace : that Spain, being thus forsaken by the Dutch, apprehensive of the English

forces, and knowing the ascendant which the French king had over the English court, signed also a dishonourable treaty : that the Emperor soon followed the example, and made a peace for himself, leaving the King of Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburgh, and other protestant princes to provide for themselves : that thus France, with the assistance of England, assured to herself the greatest part of the vast conquests and accessions she had made to her empire ; and broke the strength of her enemies more effectually by the peace than she could have done by the war ; it being impossible to form a new association among princes who could not have any confidence in one another.” Sir William Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins were our ministers at this treaty of Nimeguen ; and though Sir William acted under positive orders from his court, yet very probably he could not easily pardon any reflections upon a work in which he had been an actor. His anger appears very plainly whenever he mentions Lord Shaftesbury ; but the grounds of it are not always so obvious. His disapprobation is always general ; he lays nothing particularly to his charge ; and though in one place he has insinuated (as M. Le Clerc says) that his lordship was one

of the advisers of the war against the Dutch, he in other places imputes it wholly to the violent temper and counsels of Lord Clifford ; as will appear in the following work.

Father Orleans gives this character of Lord Shaftesbury : “ He had a vast genius, was penetrating, bold, and equally steady both on the right and wrong side ; a constant friend, but an implacable enemy ; and the more dangerous, as, being void of all religion and conscience, it was the easier for him to plot, because he was not deterred by the number or enormity of any crimes, when he judged them necessary to preserve himself, or destroy those who had incurred his hatred.”⁸ It must, be observed, that the learned

⁸ This passage in the original runs thus : “ Antoine Ashley Cooper, Comte de Shaftsbury, et Grand Chancelier du Royaume. Cet acteur, si célèbre dans les dernières scènes que nous a données l’Angleterre, étoit le plus propre de tous à conduire une grande entreprise ; aussi étoit-il l’ame de celle-ci ; esprit vaste, éclairé, audacieux, intriguant, également ferme dans un bon et dans un mauvais parti, pendant que ceux à qui il s’attachoit ne lui donnoient point sujet de changer ; constant ami, mais ennemi implacable ; et d’autant plus dangereux, que ne ménageant rien avec la religion et la conscience, il étoit moins embarrassé à trouver les moyens de nuire ; n’étant effrayé ni de la grandeur ni de la multitude des crimes, quand il les croyoit nécessaires ou pour se conserver, ou pour perdre ceux qui s’étoient attiré sa haine.” The enterprise of which the reverend Jesuit thus

Jesuit had no knowledge of Lord Shaftesbury : he wrote his history from the mouth of King James the Second after the Revolution, and in the midst of that king's resentment for the loss of his crown ; a loss owing to his religion, and to his perverse and strong attachment to arbitrary power, both which Lord Shaftesbury so long and so strenuously opposed in every step of their progress. This opposition, with his being such a constant enemy to France, could not entitle him to Father Orleans's good opinion.

I do not think it very material to mention Mr. Archdeacon Echard upon this occasion. It is plain that he did not make much inquiry into the character of Lord Shaftesbury, since he contented himself with copying from Father Orleans, whom he could not but know to be a prejudiced writer.

Bishop Burnet is still less favourable to Lord Shaftesbury than Father Orleans. He does not allow him any of the good qualities, and scarce one of the qualifications, which his greatest enemies have acknowledged. The bishop, indeed, owns that Lord Shaftesbury was angry with him

describes Shaftesbury to have been the soul, had as its object the rendering Charles an absolute monarch by means of foreign troops.

for his endeavours to discredit the popish plot; and upon one occasion he says, Lord Shaftesbury railed so at him that he went near him no more. I have by me the manuscript of one Mr. Wyche,* who had an office under Lord Shaftesbury, wherein he says that Lord Shaftesbury slighted the bishop to a very great degree, and shunned his acquaintance. This contempt the bishop might not deserve, and, perhaps, could not very well bear. He is exceedingly unhappy in his estimate of Lord Shaftesbury's character, and mistaken in almost every fact which he relates of him. This will be made evident from the journals of parliament, and very authentic vouchers.

* Among the papers belonging to the Shaftesbury family, has been found a character of this Mr. Wyche, drawn up by a person well acquainted with him. It will probably be acceptable to the reader.

“ He was a man of the law, and clerk to Mr. Justice Sir Samuel Eyre. Mr. Justice Eyre was a standing council concerned in Lord Shaftesbury's affairs, and he recommended him to Lord Shaftesbury as a faithful amanuensis, who might be trusted upon any occasion.

He was accordingly trusted by Lord Shaftesbury in transcribing papers of the utmost consequence, from the year 1669 or 1670, to the end of Lord Shaftesbury's life. He took down thoughts as they were dictated by the great men at meetings; one in particular from Lord Holles, near the end of his life. The late Lord Chief Justice Eyre, who had such a thorough knowledge of Mr. Wyche's integrity, used to say of him, that he had, at the latter end of King Charles

Rapin, in his account of the transactions of those times, had no other guide than the authors before mentioned ; yet he sees through their prejudices very plainly, and cautions his readers against too implicit a belief in them. This he does merely from a cool consideration of what they relate, without a knowledge of any private memoirs to bias him in Lord Shaftesbury's favour. I cannot help here taking notice of one passage in Rapin. When he makes his observations on Father Orleans's character of Lord Shaftesbury, and hints at the partiality of it, he says, "Mr. Locke speaks otherwise of him ; it is true he says nothing advantageous of him in respect of religion." Rapin would not have made this last observation, if he had considered, that Mr. Locke's is not a complete and regular account of Lord Shaftesbury : it is only a memorandum of some few facts which he wrote down as they occurred to his memory, and for fear they should slip out of it. By the style they are plainly his

the Second's time, written more treason than any man in the kingdom. He was a man of slow parts, but scrupulously exact in matters of testimony, which his great length of days

occasioned his being called upon sometimes to give. The truth of this is known to several people now living. He lived at Salisbury till his death."

rough draught; and are so indigested, that some things after the Restoration are set down previous to others which happened before it. Lord Shaftesbury was, however, very regular in his attendance on divine worship; he kept a chaplain constantly in his house. This gentleman's name was Highmore. His lordship was the great patron of the eminent Dr. Whitchcot, who lived very much with him, and, together with Mr. Locke, was one of his most constant companions. The doctor preached most of his sermons that are printed before him; and the last Lord Shaftesbury* is said to have published, from a manuscript copy of his grandfather's lady, the first volume of his works, called *Select Discourses*.

Bishop Burnet represents Lord Shaftesbury to have been variable in his principles; and says,

* It hath been supposed of late, that the *Select Discourses* of Dr. Whitchcot were published by the Rev. Mr. William Stephens, rector of Sutton, in Surry, and not by the third Earl of Shaftesbury.⁹

⁹ I know not upon what ground this supposition proceeds. The article "Shaftesbury," in the General Dictionary, which we have seen was carefully revised by the fourth earl, declares that "it was under his father's particular inspection that a volume of Dr. Whichcot's select sermons, with a preface, was published in 1698, from copies of them which had been taken in short-hand as they were delivered from the pulpit."

that he was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made; and that he did this with so much vanity and little discretion, that he lost many by it.¹⁰ It seems very improbable that so wise a man, so versed in affairs that required secrecy, should, for no reason, with no views, lay himself open to this censure. Besides, the bishop, in fact, gives an answer to himself, by what he says in the same sentence, “that Lord Shaftesbury was to the last much trusted by all the discontented party.” I have some hopes that by the following sheets he will appear to have acted very consistently; that from the beginning to the end of his life he maintained the same principles; and that the changings and fluctuations, at the time he lived in, were in the government, but not in his conduct.

As to later writers of the English history, I shall take no particular notice of them in this

¹⁰ In a note upon this passage of Burnet, written by the first Earl of Dartmouth, but published since this work was originally printed, his lordship says, “I was told by one that was very conversant with him, that he had a constant maxim never to fall out with anybody, let the provocation be never so great, which he said he had found great benefit by all his life; and the reason he gave for it was, that he did not know how soon it might be necessary to have them again for his best friends.”

place; because most of them have only repeated the accounts of Lord Shaftesbury which have been given by the authors already mentioned.

Nothing is more difficult than to root out those prejudices which have been long growing in our minds; yet nothing more deserves the persevering attention of a rational creature, who must otherwise live in a constant subservience to the little passions of those who implanted them. In investigating the character of Shaftesbury, let us therefore exercise our own reason, and enter into a calm examination of the facts before us.

These lie open to every one's understanding, and are the best, if not the only evidence, we can rely upon in our judgments of any man's public character. In his private one we must depend on the authority of his relations, his friends, and those who were chiefly about him. And these have concurred in the same testimony with regard to Lord Shaftesbury, that he filled up all the private offices of life, as a master, a friend, a husband, and a father, with great humanity, integrity, and affection. Some of his letters to his lady, that are still preserved, are proofs of the tenderness which he had for her.

Though his engagements in public affairs were

so various and incessant, he was strictly careful in the management of his own estate. He was exact in this to a surprising degree. He inspected all his accounts himself; and, as he had great skill in husbandry, he was as particular in his directions for the cultivation of his lands, as any country gentleman who had no other employment of his time or thoughts. He looked on the preservation of his estate as the best support of independency, and the best fund for his generosity, which many persons of worth and learning experienced, some by occasional, others by annual donations.

If any facts mentioned in the present performance are proved to be false, or unfairly stated, they will be readily retracted. This work is written only from the love of truth, and to the lovers of truth it is addressed.

CHAPTER I.

Account of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper's birth, education, marriage, and first entrance into parliament.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, Earl of Shaftesbury, A.D. 1621.
 who was born July 22, 1621, descended from His Birth. very ancient and considerable families. His father was Sir John Cooper, Bart. of Rockborne, in the county of Hants. His mother was Anne, the only daughter and heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley, Bart. of Wimborne St. Giles's, in the county of Dorset.

The care of his education was first committed Education. to Mr. Guerdeau, a fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge, and afterwards doctor of physic in London, who was chosen by the grandfather for the strictness of his principles;* Sir Anthony saying, “ Youth could not have too deep a dye of

* After his father's death, Sir Anthony was four years under the tuition of a Mr. Fletcher, and one year under the care of a gentleman of Oriel College in Oxford, a master of arts.

A.D. 1621. religion ; for business and conversation in the world would wear it to a just moderation."

A.D. 1631. By the death of Sir John Cooper, in 1631, he succeeded to the title of baronet, and an estate of 8000*l.* a year ; the greatest part of which had been entailed on him by his grandfather, who died in the year 1627.

Early proof
of his acti-
vity.

The vivacity of his genius was conspicuous in his youth by the progress which he made in his studies ; and the activity of his disposition soon found an opportunity of discovering itself in the following remarkable occasion. His father leaving his own estate charged with debts, some of his relations and neighbours, Sir Francis Ashley (his grandfather's brother), Mr. Tregonwell, Sir William Button, and others, formed a scheme for getting advantageous purchases, by procuring an immediate sale of great part of the estate. Sir Francis was the king's serjeant-at-law. By his means, and under pretence of being creditors, they engaged Sir Walter Pye, attorney of the Court of Wards, a corrupt man, who then had great influence in that court, to get a decree for the sale ; and being with some of their friends made commissioners for this, they disposed of

the estate to one another. Sir Anthony's trustees, who were excluded from the commission, desired time to sell the lands at better rates, and that Sir Anthony (who had an estate from his mother's father, for which he was not in wardship) might be allowed to be a purchaser himself. This was pressed in open court, but refused, unless the purchasers would consent; which could not be expected, as they knew the value of their bargains, and had taken such irregular steps to gain them.

The trustees, upon this, refused to convey the lands, and were therefore committed by the Court of Wards to the Fleet, and kept in confinement till they consented. But, notwithstanding their forced conveyance, they preferred a bill in equity against Sir Francis Ashley and the others, upon consideration that they had before agreed with a purchaser for the lands, for Sir Anthony's use, at a much greater value. Sir Francis being sensible that the separate estate, which his brother left to his grandson, enabled the trustees to make this opposition, immediately projected the total ruin of his nephew's fortune; and desired to be heard in behalf of

A.D. 1631. the king, to show that the deed by which Sir Anthony claimed that estate was not sufficient
A.D. 1634. to preserve it from wardship. A day was appointed for the hearing. Mr. Noy was then attorney-general, having been an intimate friend of old Sir Anthony. He had drawn his will; but it was imagined he would not undertake to support the cause against the crown, and without him it would be in imminent danger from the influence which the crown had in that court. Sir Anthony (then but thirteen years old) went alone to Mr. Noy, and acquainted him with the proceedings, saying he had no one to depend on but him, who had been the friend of his grandfather. Noy was pleased with his spirit and behaviour, and told him he would defend the cause, though he should lose his place; and accordingly performed his promise with success, and without taking any fees.¹¹

¹¹ This gentleman has all the credit of having originated the claim of the crown to ship-money. The king's orders were imperative to discover some statutable mode of raising money; so, in the words of an old law writer of the period, " Away goes the subtile engineer, and at length from old records bolts out an ancient president of raising a tax for setting out a navy in case of danger. The king, glad of the discovery as treature

Though Sir Anthony carried this cause, his estate suffered very much by the hasty and clandestine sale of such a part of it. However, it furnished him with an opportunity, some years afterwards, of showing his generous and reconcileable temper. Rockborne, which was his father's seat, was sold to Mr. Tregonwell, who was in such haste for the purchase, that he was not sufficiently careful in examining the title. Sir Anthony discovered that this estate had been entailed at his father's marriage, and that his

A.D. 1634.
Instance of
his genero-
sity.

trove, presently issued out writs for providing twenty-seven ships of so many tons, with guns, gunpowder, tackle, and all other things necessary. But this business no sooner ripened than the author of it dyeth." This account is repeated by many old authors, and particularly by Heylyn in his Life of Laud, who gives a circumstantial account of the manner in which Noy had long preserved all the extracts and precedents in favour of naval aids that he could gather from the old records, which formed his favourite study. "He kept them," says Heylyn, "in the coffin of a pye which had been sent him by his mother, and kept there till the mouldiness and corruption had perished many of his papers." But notwithstanding this story, and notwithstanding the reported remark of Laud, that, of a layman, Noy was the man who had rendered his majesty greater service than any other in his kingdom, it is impossible that Noy could have originated this idea, since it was acted upon, although not to the same extent, before Noy had received the attorney-generalship as the price of his desertion,

A.D. 1634. father had not levied any fine to cut off the entail. He, therefore, immediately commenced a suit against Mr. Tregonwell, who was grandson and heir of the purchaser. Mr. Tregonwell, whether from a sense of a defect in his title, or the injustice of his grandfather, proposed to Sir Anthony (who was his relation) that, if he might be permitted to enjoy that estate during his life, he would not only consent that it should return to Sir Anthony, but as he had himself no children, he would settle

and while he was yet a keen and able advocate of the popular cause.

His conduct to our young baronet is not the only instance of kindness related of Noy. He was one day in court when a case was being tried in which a poor widow was the defendant. Three graziers at a fair had left a sum of money with her, and one of them coming back, received the whole sum deposited, and ran away. The other two then sued the woman for delivering what she had received from the three before the three came and demanded it. The widow's counsel had abandoned the case in despair, and the jury were about to return their verdict for the plaintiff's when Noy, who was not retained, took part in the defence. "The defendant," he said, "has received the money of the three together; that she confesses. She was not to deliver it until the same three demanded it; that the plaintiff's insist. Agreed. Well, the money is ready; let the three come together to receive it, and it shall be paid." This defence soon put an end to the action.

his own estate upon him likewise. Sir Anthony A.D. 1634. replied, that he would not consent to Mr. Tregonwell's settling his own estate to the prejudice of his family ; nay more, since Mr. Tregonwell had been so frank in his offer, he should not only retain Rockborne for his own life, but his wife should hold it for her's also, in case she should survive ; and upon these terms he concluded an agreement with Mr. Tregonwell, who enjoyed that estate near forty years.

In the year 1636 Sir Anthony went to Exeter A.D. 1636. College at Oxford, under the immediate tuition of Dr. Prideaux, rector of the college. The circumstances of his affairs obliged him to go to London in term-time, and he was entered of Lincoln's Inn. Thus he soon acquired an useful education, by being led into an early knowledge of the world. As his reading enlarged and improved his conversation, this quickened and strengthened his application to the other. His wit, affability, and liberal temper, soon distinguished and procured him esteem in the university ; and his courage making him the leader of all the young men of his college, he showed several instances of that spirit which he so remarkably maintained through the whole course of his courage.

A.D. 1636. of his life. Among others, one was in opposing and breaking a custom extremely absurd, but of great antiquity in the college, which was called tucking the fresh-men. On a particular day, the senior under-graduates, in the evening, called the fresh-men to the fire, and made them hold out their chins; whilst one of the seniors, with the nail of his thumb (which was left long for that purpose) grated off all the skin from the lip to the chin, and then obliged him to drink a beer-glass of water and salt. The time approaching when Sir Anthony was to be used thus; he, finding the fresh-men a numerous body, engaged them to stand stoutly in defence of their chins. Accordingly, they all appearing at the fire in the hall, one of the seniors (who was the tyrant of that day) called Sir Anthony; when he, according to agreement, gave the signal to the juniors by striking the senior a box on the ear, and immediately a skirmish ensued, in which some of the seniors were severely beaten; nor was an end put to the combat till Sir Anthony had made proper terms for the juniors. At this time Dr. Prideaux came in to appease the mutiny; and the doctor, always favourable to youth in offences which proceeded from cou-

rage, granted them a pardon, and an abolition A.D. 1636. of that ridiculous custom.*

Some time after Sir Anthony had been at Oxford, several matches were proposed to him; but, by the advice of his guardian, he made his addresses to one of the Lord Keeper Coventry's daughters;¹² and his estate and character carrying with them a powerful recommendation to the father, as his youth and behaviour did to the lady, who was a woman of admirable beauty, accomplishments, and virtue, he succeeded in his suit, and was married on the 25th of February 1638-9, being under eighteen years of age.

After his marriage, he lived with his father-in-law at Durham House and Canbury, till the Lord Keeper's death, which was in January 1639-40. During this interval, he accompanied his brother-in-law, Mr. Coventry, into Worcestershire, where he was soon distinguished for the gaiety of his temper. Among the sprightly sallies which gained him the reputation he then enjoyed, of being an amusing companion, were some conjuring tricks,

* Stringer.

¹² This lady was niece to the Earl of Southampton, who afterwards held the office of Lord Treasurer to Charles II.

A.D. 1638.
His mar-
riage.

A.D. 1638. which he accomplished by means of a confidential servant. This man, when his master went to any house, easily gained admittance among the female servants by his knowledge in the reigning fashions; and such opportunitie she always improved to obtain intelligence of the love affairs of the family. These he conveyed to Sir Anthony, who never failed to turn them into mirth, by pretending knowledge in palmistry, and telling fortunes. It is not improbable but some such a trifling story as this, which was merely a sally of youth and humor, might be the foundation of Bishop Burnet's remark, "that he had the dotage of astrology in him to a high degree."¹³

¹³ The bishop is, however, somewhat circumstantial in what he says. "He told me," he adds, after the passage quoted in the text, "that a Dutch doctor had, from the stars, foretold him the whole series of his life. But that which was before him when he told me this, proved false, if he told me true, for he said he was yet to be a greater man than he had been." It has been said, however, that Shaftesbury was in the habit of amusing the bishop with these tales to baffle his attempts to discover his political intrigues.—*Seward's Anecdotes.*

We find also in an old memoir of Shaftesbury, called Rawleigh Redivivus, a similar story. While Sir Anthony was yet a boy, a German, who had been persecuted in his own country on account of his Protestant opinions, found a refuge in the hospitality of the Coopers. The young baronet quickly excited his attention ; and we are told that he was able, so precocious

During his stay with Mr. Coventry, the principal people of the town of Tewkesbury invited their neighbour, the Lord Keeper's son, to a public dinner. All the neighbouring gentry were, upon

A.D. 1639.
Occasion of
his being
brought into
parliament.

was his intellect, to comprehend the most abstruse subjects that this gentleman proposed to him. Delighted with the ability and attention of his young pupil, the German, one day, addressed him thus : “ Child ! if thou wilt be religious and keep close to God, and take care to avoid the vain and destructive allurements of profaneness and debauchery, and entertain a fixed resolution to improve all thy parts and abilities for the advancing the Protestant and the prejudice of the Romish religion, you shall be a man of the largest parts in Christendom, and shall be an instrument of doing an extraordinary piece of service to your prince, which shall be very acceptable to him ; whereupon you shall stand high in his favour, and be promoted to very great honour ; yet shall afterwards lose the prince's favour, and be as much disrespected as before honoured and admired ; yet, at the same time, you shall be one of the most popular men under heaven, &c. And that you may know this will fall out according to my prediction, pray remember this that I am now going to tell you, and write it down in your pocket-book that you may not forget it :—Not long after your coming from the university, you shall be in extreme danger of drowning,” telling him the very day when it should happen. The legend goes on to tell how, upon the day specified, Sir Anthony, who was then studying for the bar, was induced by his companions to go by water to Greenwich. As he stepped into the boat, the prediction and the coincidence occurred to him, and he would have returned, but his companions refused to allow him. The boat was upset, but all the party were saved. This prophecy was, of course, never heard of until long after its fulfilment.

A.D. 1639. this occasion, likewise invited. At the dinner, Sir Anthony was placed near the upper end of the table, opposite to Sir Harry Spiller, one of the queen's council, a crafty perverse man, and so extremely vain, that he despised all whom he thought his inferiors. Sir Harry opened the conversation with many affronts to the bailiffs and their entertainment, which provoked and dis-countenanced both them and the rest of the townsmen who were at the entertainment; and the more, as the affront was given in the presence of the first gentlemen of the county, before whom they were willing to appear to the best advantage. When he had discharged abundance of his spleen and rough raillery, Sir Anthony thought it proper, as their guest, to encounter him: and being greatly superior in understanding to Sir Harry, he re-torted his raillery with such wit and success, that he obtained a complete victory, and silenced him. This gained Sir Anthony the hearts of the people: he was made free of the town; and the next par-liament, (which was called for April 13, 1640,) though he was absent, was not nineteen years old, and had no estate in the county, he was, without any application, or even his knowledge, unani-

mously chosen one of their representatives;* and he served them faithfully during the very short time in which that parliament sat. His being thus early and honourably introduced into parliament, rendered him more emulous to appear deserving of the trust reposed in him. He diligently attended the house of commons, in order to get an insight into the state of the nation, and every day wrote an account of their proceedings. From this time he turned his thoughts towards the service of the public: he cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the principal gentlemen in Dorsetshire and the adjacent counties: he established frequent meetings among them; and his temper recommending him to them, the opportunity of conversation gave him a perfect†

* Stringer.

memoirs, and carry in them instances of his regard for those gentlemen, and singular marks of his vivacity.¹⁴

† He drew many of their characters, which are still extant in the remains of his

¹⁴ It is much to be regretted, that none of the eminent men, through whose hands this work passed previously to its being sent to the press, thought it necessary to incorporate these fragments of the earl's memoirs in the narrative. They would have furnished a valuable specimen of his literary abilities, which were, doubtless, of no mean order. These are, however, now hopelessly entombed in the record-room at Wimborn St. Giles.

A.D. 1640. knowledge of their characters. It was by his assiduity in these respects, joined to the superiority of his parts, that he gained an early reputation in the west of England, and was enabled very soon to distinguish himself in the conduct of public affairs, and in the transactions of the civil war.

CHAPTER II.

Review of the conduct of Charles the First, from his accession to the throne to the dissolution of the parliament, March 10, 1628-9.

THE causes of this war are not traced so high by our historians as they certainly ought to be, and they have been either partially or imperfectly related. The grievances of the public are often but slightly mentioned, and in general terms, which never strike with that force which particular instances do; and the proceedings of the parliament for redressing them are confounded, under the same name of rebellion, with the transactions of the presumptuous high court of justice. It may be proper, therefore, for the vindication of the parliament's honour, and for the honour of the English, who do not usually complain till they feel, and are zealous for the dignity of their prince when it is compatible with their liberties, to trace in a

A.D. 1624.
Review of
the causes
of the civil
war.

A.D. 1624. summary way the rise and progress of the disunion between the king and the people.¹⁵

Hen. VIII. A.D. 1509. Henry the Eighth (a resolute and haughty prince) began the Reformation in resentment against the pope. He dissolved the abbeys, monasteries, and other religious houses, and distributed great part of the church lands among the nobility and gentry, to secure them in his interest.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547. What he began for political ends, his son, Edward the Sixth, nobly carried on for religious ones.

Q. Mary. A.D. 1553. The Reformation was scarce settled, when Queen Mary succeeded her brother, and made a hasty and furious return to the Romish church. The nobility and gentry, however, refused to restore the church lands; but Pope Paul the Fifth declaring it was not in his power to give leave

¹⁵ When this preliminary view of the state of Great Britain at the time of Sir Anthony's appearance as a public character was written, our country was singularly destitute of able and impartial historians. It was then necessary to make this recapitulation; and although the labours of Hallam, and many others, have since rendered the minute history of this period familiar to the majority of readers, I have not thought myself entitled to mutilate the work by striking out or abridging these chapters.

that they should be alienated, nothing could have long secured the laymen in their possessions but the short reign of Queen Mary, and with her of the papal power in England.

Queen Elizabeth, her successor, re-established the reformed religion, and an act was passed in her first parliament, for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, and for abolishing all foreign power repugnant to it. The interests of the civil government, and of the national religion, (between which, by our constitution, there is such an immediate connexion,) were guarded as one; and the queen supported and enlarged the protestant interest abroad, as the surest means of preserving the balance of Europe.

The favourites at court, however, invaded so fast the bishops' lands, that the wiser part both of statesmen and churchmen thought it necessary to check their progress in this respect.¹⁶ A stop,

¹⁶ The frequent changes in the national religion had encouraged the bishops in possession to leave as little as possible to their heretical successors. Two enactments, passed during the reign of Elizabeth, had in consequence prohibited them from alienating church lands, except upon leases for three lives or twenty-one years. These acts contained, however, an exception in favour of the crown, which enabled Elizabeth to continue to

A.D. 1558. therefore, was put to the alienation of church lands. Upon this encouragement, some of the dignified clergy said, that their predecessors had gone too far in their concessions, and that they would have acted better if they had made a stand like the Spanish bishops at the council of Trent, who, though they were willing to cast off the pope's authority, yet insisted that episcopacy was *jure divino*. The supporting them in these pretensions was represented to the queen to be as much the concern of the crown as of the clergy ; for, as they would always be dependent on the sovereign for their promotion, the power of the crown would be better and more secretly advanced by their means than by any other.

Though Queen Elizabeth was sufficiently tenacious of her prerogative, she was not seduced by this kind of reasoning. But when King

A.D. 1603. James the First came to the throne, terrified and James I. prejudiced as he had been by the treatment which he had received from the presbyterians in Scot-

reward her courtiers at the expense of the church. Some of the instances of this regal spoliation, and of the impotent attempts at resistance by the victims, as they are related in Strype's Annals, are highly amusing. It was this exception in favour of the crown which was repealed at the commencement of James's reign.

A.D. 1603.

land, he was easily led into such measures as the dignified clergy proposed. In his first parliament an act was passed, that no lands of the church should be alienated, but remain firm to the successors in their respective dignities. This might be considered as requisite for a just preservation of the order; but many of the clergy, thinking that a proper time to extend their power, resolved to place themselves above the reach of the civil government. The authority of the church, and the sacredness of the hierarchy, were the themes upon which they were incessantly descanting before their listless congregations. King James's favourite point was an absolute government, and, to obtain this, he readily indulged the clergy in their peculiar opinions; but this only upon the condition that they, in return, should preach up the divine right of monarchy as well as episcopacy. This compact, tacit although it might have been, was religiously acted upon; and thus a doctrine, false in its principles, repugnant to reason, and pernicious in its consequences, became disseminated among the people. A doctrine equally pernicious to the king and the people: to the king, by creating in him wrong notions of his happiness and power; to the people, by sowing

A.D. 1603. the seeds of discord among them, and by making servility and adulation the road to preferment. To arrive at their own selfish ends, therefore, the clergy, in their pulpits and writings, asserted that the king was not obliged to call parliaments for the making laws or raising taxes. These doctrines, and the power which the king and the clergy assumed and exercised in consequence of them, worked up a general uneasiness in the minds of the people, which was still heightened by every part of the king's conduct. They laid the foundation of two hostile parties in the kingdom, which have ever since unhappily subsisted, though under different denominations at different times.

As King James brought with him from Scotland a secret prejudice against England for the death of his mother, he had, likewise, an indifference for the Reformation and the protestant religion. Though he had learning, it was the learning of a pedant: he had not the understanding necessary for a prince, nor the courage which was requisite even for a private man. His vanity rendered him a dupe to his flatterers, and his irresolution made him one to all Europe. He acted in every step directly opposite to the interest of

England, and the conduct of his predecessor Queen Elizabeth, who understood that interest, and pursued it in a better manner than almost any of our princes have done. He fixed his notions of greatness, not in the greatness of his people, but in being independent of them. Stubborn to these notions, he protected his minister against his subjects. Though imperious and insolent to his people, he cringed to every power in Europe, to whom he conceded almost everything they demanded. He put to death Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the greatest men of the age, in an infamous manner, to gratify the resentment of the Spaniards; and he sacrificed the interests of his own children to his fear. He neglected the honour of the nation, and abandoned the protestant interest abroad. As he lived, so he died; leaving to his son a fund of discontent in the minds of the people, an arbitrary minister for his favourite, and in himself the worst example which could possibly be followed.¹⁷ King

¹⁷ This character of King James is not overcharged. The probable nature of the secret which preserved Somerset, and the facts disclosed by Weldon and by Lord Hailes' Letters, would alone render the private life of this man the most disgusting episode to our history.

A.D. 1625. Charles the First had courage, and many good qualities which his father wanted; but by his education, his minister, and the doctrines of an ambitious and corrupt part of the clergy, he was led into the same unhappy measures. Flattered into an opinion that his will was superior to the law, he soon made that opinion the guide of his actions. He seemed to think the affections of his people and the esteem of his parliament considerations beneath his regard, and inconsistent with his dignity.

June 18.

His treatment of his parliament.

At the first meeting of his parliament, upon his coming to the crown, he began to show that he would keep them at a greater distance than some of his predecessors had done. Queen Elizabeth was accustomed to speak herself to her parliaments, to show her regard for them; and King James delighted to display to them his learning. But this did not suit with the haughtiness of Charles's temper; and, therefore, he said to them in the conclusion of his speech: "I mean to bring up the fashion of my predecessors, to have my lord keeper speak for me in most things:*

* This fashion, thus introduced or revived by him, was continued through the rest of his reign, and was carried on during the whole reign of his successor Charles the Second.

therefore, I have commanded him to speak something unto you at this time, which is more for formality than any great matter he hath to say unto you.”

A.D. 1625.

Public
grievances.

He soon dissolved this parliament, because they expressed their dissatisfaction at the conduct of his minister, and insisted upon a redress of grievances: such as the misspending the public treasure; the neglect of guarding the seas, which was so great, that Turkish pirates landed in the west of England, and carried away several captives: and, what had extremely exasperated the minds of the people, the lending the Vanguard, a principal ship of the royal navy, and seven merchant ships, of great burthen and strength, to the French, who intended to employ them against the protestants besieged in Rochelle. Pennington, who had the command of these ships, was dissatisfied with his commission. The captains, likewise, and the soldiers and mariners in the other ships, understanding they were to be employed in blocking up the harbour of Rochelle, refused the service; and, though they were tempted with great rewards, declared they would rather sink or be hanged, than serve against those of their own religion. They returned again to

A.D. 1625. the Downs, and, in the mean time, the Duke of Rohan and the protestants of France solicited the king against sending the ships; and applied likewise to the council, the greatest part of whom thought they had been destined for another service. But the king sent an express and strict order to Pennington, requiring him, without delay, to put his former command in execution, and to deliver up the Vanguard, with all her furniture, into the hands of the French. He ordered, also, farther, that the seven merchant ships should enter into the service of the French monarch, and that, in case of their backwardness, the admiral should use all means to compel them to it, even to their sinking, if they refused. Upon this Pennington obeyed, returned to Dieppe, delivered up the Vanguard, and commanded the rest of the fleet to do the same. But the companies, unanimously, one man excepted, who was a gunner, declined the service, and quitted the ships.

Dissolution
of parlia-
ment.

The Duke of Buckingham was complained of as the author of these and other grievances. The commons unanimously drew up a declaration, in very modest and respectful terms, in which they expressed their readiness, not only to discover and

reform the grievances of the state, but also to A.D. 1625.
raise all necessary supplies for the king. This declaration was presented to him; but he, being determined not to suffer any reflections on his minister, dissolved the parliament on the 12th of August 1625.

After the dissolution, the king sent letters to the lieutenants of the counties, ordering them to return the names of such persons within their respective counties as might be able to furnish him with sums of money, and to specify their dwellings, and what sums the lieutenants thought they might spare; for which privy seals were afterwards issued out. The collectors of the loan were required, also, to return the names of such as discovered a disposition to delay or excuse the payment of the sums imposed.

The king called another parliament, which met February the 6th, 1625-6. He treated this as he had done the former; for in all his speeches he used a style entirely unbecoming an English prince to an English parliament. He told the house of commons, soon after their meeting, that "he would not allow any of his servants to be questioned by them, and that if they did not hasten his supply, it would be worse for themselves;

Money
raised by
privy seals.

New par-
liament.

A.D. 1625. for if any ill happened, he thought he should be the last that would feel it." Notwithstanding this, the duke was attacked as the chief cause of all the public miscarriages ; upon which the king told them again in a message, that "he would not allow any of his servants to be questioned amongst them, much less such as were of eminent place and near unto him." This could not but increase the discontents of the people, who saw that their welfare was considered as inferior to the duke's, and that their interest was sacrificed to the humour of a favourite. The spirit of the house, however, was not to be broken by scolding messages. The grievances were still insisted on ; the principal of which were new impositions and monopolies, the demand of loans, levying of tonnage and poundage without act of parliament, and the misapplication of the money thus raised : these were heightened by the loss of the nation's honour ; the contempts and affronts suffered from every neighbouring power ; the ill-conducted endeavours on behalf of the Palatinate ; the fruitless and expensive expedition against Cadiz ; and the reckless carelessness which permitted our very coasts to be infested by the pirates of Algiers.

Spirited
conduct of
the parlia-
ment.

A.D. 1626.

For these and other matters,¹⁸ the Duke of Buckingham* was impeached by the commons. Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot, two of the managers, were immediately after the impeachment sent for out of the house by two messengers of the chamber, who, by the king's command, conveyed them to the Tower; and the king told the house soon after, that "he had been too remiss heretofore in punishing such insolent speeches as concerned himself." The commons, resenting so notorious a violation of their privileges as the imprisonment of their members, resolved to proceed in no other business till they were righted in their liberties; and the judges giving it as their opinion, that the whole house

* What was said of Louis cause of all the grievances ;
the Eleventh of France, was that the king's council rode
applied in the house, as the upon one horse.

¹⁸ Among these other matters was a charge of having poisoned James, "with having twice administered a potion to the late king a few days before his death, not only of a nature unknown to the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, but against a positive order by the first, that nothing should be given at the interval he took advantage of ; and further with having applied a plaster to his breast of unknown qualities ; both of which potion and plaster were accompanied with the worst symptoms, a transcendent presumption of dangerous consequences." This charge is fully discussed by Mr. Brodie, vol. ii. p. 113, et seq.

A.D. 1626. was under arrest, by the restraint of any of its members without a proper reason being assigned, Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot were released. The imprisoning of these two patriotic men was a weak, as well as an arbitrary step. Violent actions, which a prince cannot justify, tend to render his government hated ; but his being reduced to show that he cannot support them must make it despised.

Regard
shown to
the king.

Notwithstanding the commons were so strenuous for a redress of the public grievances, they manifested a proper regard to the king's necessities. They voted him an ample supply, and that the bill for the same should be brought in as soon as the grievances were presented to and redressed by the king. They appeared, likewise, extremely cautious of giving him the most distant offence : for one Mr. Moor having said in a debate, “ We were born free, and must continue free, if the king would keep his kingdom ;” adding, however, these words, “ thanks be to God, we have no occasion, we having a just and pious king ;” he was committed by them to the Tower, and kept there till the king declared he had forgiven his offence. It is evident that it was not any irregular or improper method which the commons pursued in

A.D. 1626.

order to have the public grievances redressed, but the design itself of redressing them, which irritated the court and produced their dissolution : for the king sent a letter to the speaker, wherein, among many other things, he said, “ We will and require you to signify unto them (the commons) that we do expect that they forthwith bring in their bill of subsidy, to be passed without delay or condition, so as it may fully pass the house by the end of the next week at the farthest ; which if they do not, it will force us to take other resolutions.” The commons returned a dutiful and submissive answer to this, which was delivered by their speaker ; but, upon their proceeding to a remonstrance relating to the Duke of Buckingham, and concerning tonnage and poundage taken by the king, since the death of his father, without consent of parliament, the king threatened immediately to dissolve them. Upon this, the house of lords prepared a petition, expressing “ their great and universal sorrow for his message about the dissolution, and therefore, being his hereditary great council, they offered him their faithful advice to continue this parliament ; by which the great and apparent dangers at home and abroad might be prevented, and his majesty

His haughty conduct.

A.D. 1626. made happy in the duty and love of his people, the greatest safety and treasury of a king." The lords then sent the Earls of Manchester, Pembroke, Carlisle, and Holland, to entreat the king to give audience to the whole house of peers. But the king's ears and heart were open only to his favourite, whilst they were shut against the advice of both houses of parliament, and the complaints of the people. He therefore returned for answer, that "his resolution was to hear no motion to that purpose, but he would dissolve the parliament :" and when they desired him to permit the parliament to sit but two days longer, he answered, in a peremptory manner, "No, not a minute :" and he accordingly dissolved them on the 15th day of June 1626.

Oppressive
measures.

The king, after the dissolution, persisted in his former illegal and oppressive methods of raising money, notwithstanding the general offence they had given both to the parliament and the public. Privy seals were issued out for a general loan. A loan of a hundred thousand pounds was demanded of the city of London, but the citizens refused the payment of it. The port towns and maritime counties were required to furnish ships for the king's service. The deputy lieutenants

A.D. 1626.

and justices of the peace for Dorsetshire petitioned the council table to be excused, and pleaded that the case was without precedent; but the council severely checked them for disputing, instead of obeying, their king's commands; and said that state occasions were not to be guided by ordinary precedents. The city of London was likewise required to furnish the king with twenty of the best ships in the river, with all manner of tackle, ammunition, &c.; and when the citizens petitioned for an abatement of the twenty ships rated upon them, they were told that the charge imposed on them was moderate, as not exceeding the value of many of their private estates; that such petitions were not to be received; and whereas they mentioned precedents, they ought to know that the precedents of former times were obedience, and that precedents were not wanting for the punishment of those that disobeyed the king's command.

The loan* before mentioned was exacted with such rigour, that those men of estates who refused to subscribe, were bound over by recog-

* Sir Randolph Crew, chief justice, was removed from his place because he did not show sufficient zeal for advancing the loan.—*Rushworth.*

A.D. 1626. nizance to appear at the council table; and many of them, as Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford), Mr.

Many gentlemen imprisoned.
A.D. 1627. Hampden, and others, were committed to different prisons, and which were far removed from the counties where they lived. Such numbers were committed, that the council table was as much employed to provide prisons for those who refused the loan, as to provide for the king's necessities.

Public complaints.
The clamours which were raised by the exacting of this loan were increased by the manner in which it was squandered; for as the king entered without due consideration into a war with France, so the war itself was managed with the highest imprudence, and ended with the greatest dishonour. This, with the many obstructions on trade, the number of ships taken, the neglect of the merchants to build more, because their ships had been pressed for the king's service at a low rate and not paid, and other oppressions beside, made the expectations and call for a parliament universal.

Gentlemen released.

When the resolution for calling one was taken in council, warrants were sent to the different counties to release those gentlemen who had

been imprisoned on account of the loan ; which was a farther proof of the weakness, as well as the injustice, of committing them. And to show how general the sense of this was, the men who had been imprisoned were most of them (as Rushworth says) elected “ to present the people’s grievances, and assert their liberties.” A sufficient caution this to the king not to persevere in his arbitrary measures, if he had been wise and happy enough to have taken it in proper time.

The next parliament met March 17, 1627-8, with the same dispositions which the former had ; and unfortunately for the king, he continued, likewise, in the same temper. The haughtiness of his spirit, by a strange fatality, seemed to rise as the people’s clamours and grievances rose ; and the greater his necessities were, the greater was his contempt of his subjects, as if angry to be obliged to depend upon them. At the first opening of the parliament, before any step was taken which could give him any disgust, he spoke to them in a very lofty and improper strain : “ If you,” says he, “ as God forbid ! should not do your duties in contributing what the state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my

New parliament.

A.D. 1627. conscience, use those other means which God hath put into my hands to save that which the follies of some particular men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening; for I scorn to threaten any but my equals."* Notwithstanding the king's manner of speaking to them, the commons were not diverted from that duty which they owed to themselves and the public. On the 22nd of March, they opened the business of parliament with inquiring into the state of the nation and the public grievances; such as billeting of soldiers, loans by benevolence and privy seal, and the imprisonment of persons who refused to lend their money as demanded, and who, notwithstanding they brought their habeas corpus, were remanded to prison. In the debate, Sir Edward Coke (who had been lord chief justice) quoted a record of the 25th of Edward the Third, which he said was worthy to be written in letters of gold: "That loans against the will of the subject are against reason and the franchises of the land."

A.D. 1628. The commons, determined to assert the rights of the people, came to several resolutions with

* Journals.

regard to the freedom of their persons, and the security of their properties. Among others, they unanimously resolved, “That no free man ought to be detained or kept in prison, or otherwise restrained, by the command of the king or the privy council, or any other, unless some cause of the commitment, detainer, or restraint be expressed, for which by law he ought to be committed, detained, or restrained.” At the same time, they showed themselves so disposed to assist the king, that they voted him a very large supply of five subsidies, the greatest gift (as the king himself acknowledged) that ever had been given in parliament. And as he was pleased with the supply itself, he was no less pleased with the manner of granting it; for when Secretary Coke informed him of it, he asked, “By how many votes it was carried?” the secretary told him, “But by one.” The king showing a concern at this, “Sir,” said he, “the house was so unanimous that they made but one voice.” Before the supply was voted, the king had sent the commons a message, that they might secure themselves in their rights and liberties, by bill or otherwise as they thought fit, and assured them that he would give way to it.

A.D. 1628.
Proceedings of the parliament.

April 3.

A.D. 1628. When the commons had finished their resolutions with regard to the liberty of the subject, they transmitted them to the lords for their concurrence; and several members were appointed to manage a conference concerning them. When these resolutions were taken into consideration by the lords, Sir Francis Ashley,¹⁹ the king's serjeant, said, "The propositions made by the commons tended rather to an anarchy than a monarchy, and that they must allow the king to govern by acts of state;" for which he was committed to custody till he recanted. However, the lords, at a conference, made some propositions to be added to the commons' petition of rights; which the latter looked on as an artifice to defeat it. To prevent their resolutions from being carried into a bill, the king ordered the lord keeper to acquaint both houses of parliament (when he himself was present), "that he held the statute of Magna Charta and the other six statutes insisted on for the subject's liberty to be all in force; that he would maintain all his subjects in the just freedom of

¹⁹ We have already had an instance of the private character of this worthy, which seems admirably to have corresponded with his public principles.

their persons, and safety of their estates; and A.D. 1628.
that they should find as much security in his majesty's royal word and promise, as in the strength of any law they could make."

The house of commons, however, appointed a committee, consisting of the most eminent lawyers, to draw up a bill concerning Magna Charta, and the other statutes relating to the liberty of the subject. The king, though he had before proposed to them to secure their liberties by a bill, was so averse to this, that, on May the 1st, he sent a message by Secretary Coke, to know whether they would rest on his royal word declared to them by the lord keeper; which message, after a long silence among the members, was taken up with great warmth. In the debate it was said that the subjects had suffered more, in the violation of their ancient liberties, within a few years, than in three hundred years before. Sir Edward Coke, therefore, proposed, "that they should secure their liberties by a bill, which the king had promised to give way to;" and Sir Thomas Wentworth said, "that their desire to vindicate the subjects' rights by bill was no more than was laid down in former laws, with some modest provision for instruction, performance,

A.D. 1628. and execution." In the midst of their deliberations, the king sent another message to the former purpose, and to acquaint them that he would put an end to the sessions of parliament in less than a fortnight. Upon this, the house resolved upon an answer to all his messages, which was delivered by the speaker, setting forth, "the king's offer to them of a bill for securing their rights and liberties; that they had no intention to encroach on his prerogative; and that the bounds of their desires extended no farther than to some necessary explanations of that which was truly comprehended within the just sense of old laws."

The king returned an answer by the lord keeper, in which he said, "their greatest trust and confidence must be in his goodness; without which nothing they could frame would be of safety or avail to them; that he was content a bill should be drawn for a confirmation of Magna Charta, and the six other statutes insisted on for the subjects' liberties, but without additions, paraphrases, or explanations." At the same time, his ministers, in the house of commons, pressed the members not to lose time by a bill, but to declare their dependence upon

the king's word: upon which²⁰ Sir Edward Coke justly said, “that general words never were a sufficient satisfaction for particular grievances; that the king must speak by a record, and in particulars, and not in general; that they could not take the king's trust but in a parliamentary way; that is, the king sitting on his throne in his royal robes and his crown on his head in full parliament, both houses being present. All these circumstances observed, and his assent being entered upon record, made his royal word the word of a king.” Therefore, he moved that the house should, according to the custom of their predecessors, form a petition of right, which, being confirmed by both houses, and assented to by the king, would be as valid as any act. This was resolved on, and completed May the 8th.

Petition of
right.

²⁰ It would be well for the fame of Sir Edward Coke if his conduct during this reign were the only part of his political life which descended to us. We see him here as the unflinching guardian of his country's liberties, the uncompromising opponent of a tyrannical court. But if we review his early career, his conduct as attorney-general, his cowardly vituperation of Raleigh, and lastly, his quarrel with King James, the inference becomes too plain that Coke became a patriot from interest, pique, or ambition, but certainly not from principle.

A.D. 1628. After reciting clauses in Magna Charta, and statutes of the reigns of Edward the Third and other kings, “that no man should be imprisoned without due process of law,” and after mentioning many grievances under which the people laboured, the petition concluded, “that they do, therefore, pray that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested, concerning the same, or for the refusal thereof; and that no free man, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained.” The petition was sent to the lords for their concurrence, who made an addition of the following words, viz. “With due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith your majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people.” This being strongly objected to by the commons, and particularly the most eminent lawyers, as Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Noy, and Mr. Selden, as likewise by Sir Thomas Wentworth and Mr. Pym, the lords did not insist on it, but agreed to the petition, with two amendments of no great im-

portance, with which it passed unanimously A.D. 1628. through the commons. It was then presented to the king; but his answer* was not thought full enough, or satisfactory: and the king for some time seemed determined not to give any other; for he sent a message by the speaker, “that he resolved to abide by that answer, without further change or alteration.”

The many artifices which the king made use of to evade the performance of his promise, and of the offer he had himself made for securing the people’s liberties, were not only unworthy of him, but were a fatal presage and evident cause of that disunion which happened afterwards between him and his subjects. As the bill of subsidies, however, was not entirely completed, he would not venture to break with the commons; and as the lords afterwards joined with them in addressing the king to give a clear and satisfactory answer to the petition in full parliament, he went

* The answer was, “The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties: to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative.”

A.D. 1628. on the 7th of June 1628, and gave his assent
Assented to by the king. to it in these words, “*Soit droit fait come il est désir.*”

Remon-
strances.

The house of commons, upon this, proceeded to complete the bill of subsidies. At the same time, however, they took into consideration the state of public affairs, and drew up a remonstrance, setting forth, that the excessive power of Buckingham, and the abuse of that power, was the cause of great evils and dangers to the king and kingdom. This remonstrance being completed, was ordered to be presented by the speaker to the king; whilst, on the other hand, the king, as if with design to thwart and oppose the parliament in their proceedings, directed that an order should be made in the Star-chamber, “that, whereas an information had been exhibited against the duke for divers great offences, the said information, with all proceedings thereupon, should be taken off the file, that no memory or record thereof might remain which would tend to the duke’s disgrace;” and the only reason alleged for this was, because the king was fully satisfied of the duke’s innocence. The commons, however, proceeded to another remonstrance, importuning that the receiving of tonnage and poundage,

and other impositions not granted by parliament, was a breach of the fundamental liberties of the kingdom, and contrary to his majesty's royal answer to the petition of rights. Whilst this was reading in the house, the king went to the parliament, June the 26th, and after taking notice of the first remonstrance and the preparing of the second, and after telling them that he owed the account of his actions to God alone, he prorogued the parliament till the 20th of October; and it was afterwards prorogued to the 20th of January. On the 23rd of August, the Duke of Buckingham was killed by Felton. The same violent measures, however, were pursued under other ministers, and the same encroachments were made on the liberties of the people.

When the parliament met, January the 20th, 1628-9, they immediately proceeded upon an inquiry into the violation of the liberties of the subject, and the infraction of the petition of rights. On the other hand, the king, five days after the opening of the parliament, sent them a pressing message to take the affair of tonnage and poundage into consideration. But the houses adhered to their original intention. Upon this, the king repeated his messages, which led the commons to

A.D. 1628. resolve on the following answer to him : “ That those frequent messages were inconvenient ; that they bred debates and loss of time ; and that tonnage and poundage arising naturally from the house, they would in fit time take such a course therein as they hoped would be to his majesty’s satisfaction and honour.” Whilst, with the proper spirit of an English parliament, they were inquiring into the public grievances both religious and civil, the king interposed in their proceedings in an irregular and injudicious manner ; for when, on the 22nd of February, some questions were proposed to be put by the speaker,* he refused, saying, “ he was otherwise commanded by the king.” Upon this alarming intimation that their proceedings depended only upon the sufferance of the crown, the house adjourned in astonishment. They met again on the 25th, when they were by the king’s command adjourned to the 2nd of March. At their meeting upon this day, the commons urged their speaker again to put the questions ; which he again refused, saying, “ I have a command from the king to adjourn till March the 10th, and put no question.” A dissolution, however, being fore-

A.D.
1628-9.

* Sir John Finch.

seen, the speaker was held in the chair till a protestation was made in the house:

A.D.
1628-9.

“ That whosoever should bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the truth and the orthodox church, should be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth :

“ That whosoever should counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or should be an actor or instrument therein, should be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth :

“ And if any merchant or person whatsoever should voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he should likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to the same.”

The next day after this protestation, warrants were directed from the council to Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Elliot, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Long, Mr. Stroude, and Mr. Valentine, to appear

A.D.
1628-9.

before the council. Mr. Hollis, who was son to the Earl of Clare, was asked, * wherefore, the morning when the parliament was dissolved, he placed himself by the chair,† above divers of the privy counsellors. He answered, “that he took it to be his due in any place whatsoever, unless at the council board; yet, finding his majesty was now offended with him, he humbly desired that he might rather be the subject of his mercy than his power:” upon which the treasurer ‡ said, “You mean, rather of his majesty’s mercy than his justice.” Mr. Hollis replied, “I say, of his majesty’s power, my lord.” Sir John Elliot, being questioned for what he had said in the house, answered, “that whatsoever was said or done by him in that place, and at that time, was performed by him as a public man, and a member of that house; that he was, and always would be, ready to give an account of his sayings and doings in that place whensoever he should be called to it by that house, where, as he took it, he was only to be questioned; and in the mean time, being but a private man, he would not trouble himself to

* Crew’s Debates.

† Mr. Hollis and Mr. Valentine were the two members

who held the speaker in the chair.

‡ Lord Weston.

remember what he said or did in that place as a public one."

A. D.
1628-9.

Those of the members who appeared were committed close prisoners to the Tower ; and warrants were issued out for sealing up the studies of Mr. Hollis, Mr. Selden, and Sir John Elliot.

These members were committed whilst the parliament yet was in being ; the proclamation for dissolving it not being published till six days after : and as if so notorious a violation of the privileges of parliament, and of the petition of rights, so recently and solemnly granted, was not sufficient to exasperate the minds of the people, the king, at the dissolution, contributed still farther towards it ; for he directed his speech only to the lords, and made such a distinction between the conduct of the houses, and his regard for them, as could not but be ungrateful to the commons, and to the people whom they represented. He likewise told the lords, that the other house was governed by a few vipers among them ; "and," he concluded, "as those vipers must look for their reward of punishment, so you, my lords, must justly expect from me that favour and protection that a good king oweth to his loving and faithful nobility."

A.D.
1628-9.

The king, not contented with committing the members, carried his severity to a greater length, by detaining them in prison, contrary to the laws of the land; for some of them being brought upon their habeas corpus to the King's Bench, applied by their counsel to be discharged upon bail. The judges, who trembled at the slightest whisper of royal displeasure, hesitated to grant what they knew they had no right to refuse. They remanded back the prisoners till the court were ready to give judgment. But on the appointed day the prisoners could not be produced, having been sent to other prisons, the evening before, by the king's particular warrant. The court were glad of the excuse, and refused to deliver their opinion in the absence of the prisoners. The king, the day before, had sent a letter to the judges of that bench, "that he had resolved none of the prisoners should be brought before them until they had given him cause to believe they would behave themselves better." What still more aggravated this conduct was, that he had three hours before sent a letter to the judges, wherein he consented "that Mr. Selden and Mr. Valentine should appear before them." By these means the members were still kept in confinement. What security could the people depend

on for their liberties, when the king so openly overruled the proceedings of the judges, and the judges so servilely submitted to his orders!²¹ The attorney-general afterwards exhibited an information against them in the King's Bench, to which they put in a plea to the jurisdiction of the court: for their offences being supposed to be done in parliament, they ought not to be punished but in parliament; and, as they would not put in any other plea, the court gave judgment "for continuing them in prison during the king's pleasure," and for fining some of them, particularly Sir John Elliot, in the sum of two thousand pounds. They were kept in prison many years, some of them till the writs were issued for a new parliament in 1640; and Sir John Elliot, who had proved himself an active, disinterested, and worthy member of parliament, (and therefore an obnoxious one,) died in the Tower.*

A.D. 1629.

* During his illness, he presented several petitions that the severity of his imprisonment might be relaxed; but though

²¹ "I was soundly chidden by his majesty for my former vote, and will not destroy myself for any man's sake," was the cool reply of Lord Finch upon the trial of Bishop Williams, when upbraided for his inconsistency and ingratitude.—*Hacket's Life of Williams.*—Finch only avowed a motive which, with a few noble exceptions, all the others acted upon.

A.D. 1629. Upon the dissolution of the parliament, the public were highly discontented ; which appeared in the boldness of their speeches, and their universal complaints, that if a parliament were not presently called again, all things would be unsettled and out of order ; that trading would fail, and contests would perpetually arise about tonnage and poundage. Hereupon the king published a proclamation on the 27th of March, “That he neither could nor would dispense with the duties his father had received ; and that he should not call a new parliament till those who had interrupted the last had received their condign punishment ; and those who were misled by them should come to a better understanding of his majesty and themselves.”

his physicians subscribed their opinions that it was absolutely necessary, and his life was in imminent danger, they could not prevail for obtaining it.²²

²² This case affords us another instance of the extent of that moderation and mercy so often attributed to Charles the First. We learn, from Rushworth, that upon consulting the judges he was exceedingly disappointed to find that the opposition of these members could not be tortured into a capital offence.—*Rushworth*, vol. i.—Poor Elliot’s death should never be forgotten when we speak of this man’s character.

CHAPTER III.

Review of King Charles's conduct continued, from the dissolution of the parliament, March 10, 1628-9, to the meeting of the Long Parliament.

WHILST the king was indulging his anger against the members of the last parliament, he gave up his quarrels with his foreign enemies ; and whilst intent upon increasing his power at home, he lost it abroad, and with it his reputation. Having had no success against the crowns of France and Spain, he was glad to accept of peace from them upon any terms ; and instead of supporting the protestants of France, as he was bound in honour to do, he sacrificed them to the resentment of their court. After having engaged them to take up arms (which they had laid down but a little before), and after having assured them that he would employ all the power of his kingdom to shield their churches from the ruin that threatened them, (in pursuance of which they had bound themselves by oath never to enter into any treaty without his consent,) he left them to make the

A.D. 1629.

Bad conduct of foreign affairs.

French protestants deserted.

A.D. 1629. best terms which they could for themselves; to the ruin of the protestant interest in France, and to the dishonour of England. They had, for the maintenance of their religion, acted with the greatest resolution, and suffered the most extreme hardships that men could bear. They had been reduced, in Rochelle, during the siege of it, to such want and misery, that for above fourteen months they had subsisted on hides and parchments, and even the bones of the dead had yielded them sustenance, until, despairing of that succour from England which they had so long expected, they were obliged to surrender the place in October 1628. The Duke of Rohan, head of the protestant party in France, not knowing that King Charles had dissolved his parliament, implored his aid in behalf of the reformed churches of France, in a letter* dated the 12th of March

* SIR,

THE deplorable accident of the loss of Rochelle, which God hath pleased to permit, to humble us under his hand, hath redoubled in the spirit of our enemies the passion which they have for our ruin, and the hopes to obtain thereunto; but it hath not taken away from those churches of the

Duke of Rohan's letter to the king.
provinces that courage, or affection of opposing, by a just and vigorous defence, to their unjust designs. This is that which hath made them take up a resolution, and assemble themselves together; and to stand in a body amidst these commotions, to assist me with their good counsel, and provide with me means for their deli-

1628, being two days after the parliament was dissolved. At the same time, deputies arrived from the churches, to acquaint the king that, in case he should enter into a treaty with France, they humbly prayed him to insist upon the capitulation that had been made upon his mediation, and with regard to which he had passed his word

verance. And because the most powerful means which God hath raised them upon earth is the aid which our churches have received, and do expect, from your majesty, the general assembly have desired that my letter (which solely hitherto represented unto your majesty the interest of the public cause) might be joined to the most humble supplication which they represent. I do it, sir, with so much the more affection, because I am witness that this poor people breathe after your assistance, having once laid down their arms, which the oppression of the enemy made so necessary; and because they knew it was your desire, took them up again, when they learned that your majesty obliged them to it by your counsel and by your promises. Upon this sole assurance, they have exposed themselves to all

dangers, overcome all obstacles, consumed their goods, and are still ready to spill their blood, even unto the last drop. Your good-will they have found more dear than their lives; and, notwithstanding the promises and menaces which their enemies have made use of to move them, they have not been induced to make any breach of those oaths by which they were tied never to hearken to any treaty but with your majesty's consent. All the churches of this kingdom, which are linked together to an unexampled fidelity, are glorious objects of your charity and power: you are, sir, "defender of that faith which they profess;" do not suffer it to be unjustly oppressed: you have stirred up their affections by your royal promises, and those sacred words, "that your majesty would employ all the power

A.D. 1629. that the reformed churches should perform it on their parts. This they had inviolably done, till forces were raised and kept in forts against them, contrary to the capitulation ; so that, at length, they were necessitated to take up arms in their own defence.

To the duke's letter, which was as affecting

of your kingdom to shield all those churches from the ruin that threatened them ;" and have been, next to the favour of God, the only foundation of their hopes : they have also thought it to be one of the highest crimes they could commit, to doubt of the performance thereof. If the beginning of their miseries hath moved your compassion, this sad subject hath increased upon them with so much violence, that there is nothing but your assistance can prevent their absolute destruction ; for at this day the greatest misdemeanours which our enemies accuse us of, and publish, that it cannot be expiated but with our blood, is the imploring and hoping for your assistance. Our goods for this are confiscated and destroyed ; our farms desolate and burnt to ashes ; our heads exposed to the block ; our fa-

milies banished ; our temples demolished ; and everywhere, where the cruelty of our heinous enemies can extend, men and women are beaten to mass with staves. In short, the horror and persecution we endure is so great, that our words are too weak to express them.

Furthermore, we see, even at our doors, the powerful armies which only wait the time to destroy those retiring places that are left, and after that banish the exercise of religion, and massacre the faithful throughout the kingdom. Hereupon, if I should entreat your majesty not to abandon us, I fear by these words to offend a great king, so powerful and so faithful ; but I will take upon me the boldness, by reason of our pressing necessities, to supplicate your ready assistance to hinder our falling

and pathetic as distress and eloquence could make it, and to the remonstrance of the deputies, the king returned an answer to this effect: “That his majesty understands there is an intention, by the mediation of some foreign princes, to propose a peace between the two crowns of England and France, which probably

The king's
answer.

under the strength of our enemies. Your majesty need not search elsewhere but in your own profound wisdom and experience to render your succour redoubtable to those that despise it, and advantageous to those people that expect it. By this means you will gain the greatest glory that can be desired; you will free from fire and sword three hundred thousand families, which pray to God continually for your prosperity; will preserve a people whom God hath purchased by his blood, and that have kept their faith towards God and man amidst the greatest distractions and cruel sufferings; will place the fidelity of your word, the reputation of your state and your armies, in a point worthy of so much grandeur; and, in checking the boldness of those who undertake to blast it daily with

unworthy reproaches, will add to your title that of “the restorer of the most innocent people in the world, and the most inhumanly persecuted.”

As to my own concerns, sir, I make no mention to your majesty of my interests. I might (having the honour to be what I am) do it without blame as to outward appearance; but it is so long since I had consecrated them to the use of the public, that I shall always esteem my condition happy enough, provided the church be not miserable; and that I may have this advantage, to be known by such occasions which your majesty doth not disprove of, that I am

Your Majesty's most humble
and most obedient servant,

HENRY OF ROHAN.

At Rohan, the 12th of
March, 1628-9.

(Rushworth.)

A.D. 1629. he may incline unto ; and therefore adviseth the said duke, and those of the reformed religion, timely to apply themselves to the French king, and to get as advantageous terms for himself, and those engaged with him, as he could procure : the king further informing the duke, that he was constrained to dissolve the parliament which he had lately reassembled, from whom he expected further supplies of money ; but, failing thereof, he was not in a condition to contribute such further aid and assistance, either by money or arms, as the Duke of Rohan, and those that adhered unto him, might expect, and their present necessities require ; his majesty expressing his sorrow that the condition of his affairs were such that he could not answer his and their expectation.”

Public op-
pressions
continued.

Lord Clarendon accuses this last parliament of making unhappy assaults upon the prerogative ; though, at the same time, he says he does not know any formed act of either house that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts upon extraordinary occasions. He says farther, that after some froward and obstinate disturbances in trade, (which were seizing merchants' goods, and imprisoning their persons, for

refusing to pay duties not granted by parliament), A.D. 1629. there quickly followed so excellent a composure throughout the whole kingdom, that the like peace, plenty, and universal tranquillity, for ten years, were never enjoyed by any nation. During these years, however, the king governed in an absolute manner, without a parliament. By his own authority, and by numberless obnoxious projects, he raised great sums of money. Not only the council and the star-chamber, but even the courts of justice, were made use of to support the public oppression. Armies were maintained, and soldiers billeted on the people, by order of the privy council; and those who opposed this, on account of its being contrary to law, were committed to prison. The oppres- A.D. 1633. sions of the ecclesiastical courts were likewise very great; and many who had suffered by these courts, together with several ministers who had been ejected from their livings because they would not read the declaration* for sports on a Sunday, were desirous of quitting their native

* An order of session was made in Somersetshire, when Lord Chief Justice Richardson and Judge Denham were upon that circuit, for suppressing

ales and revels on Sundays. Archbishop Laud complained of this to the king: the chief justice was summoned to attend the council, where he was

A.D. 1633. country. But, in order to block up the passage of these voluntary exiles, a proclamation²³ was published, forbidding any persons, being subsidy men, or of their value, to pass to any of the plantations without a licence. A proclamation was also published, commanding the nobility, gentry, and men of substance, except the privy council, or those who were bound to daily attendance on the king, queen, and their chil-

commanded to revoke his order: the chief justice replied, that the order was made at the request of the justices of the peace in the county, with the general consent of the whole bench, and upon view of divers ancient precedents. He was obliged, however, to go and declare at the next assizes the former order revoked; whereupon the justices and many

gentlemen of the greatest distinction drew up a petition to the king, showing the great inconveniences that would befall the country, if these meetings, condemned by the law, should be set up again; but before it could be presented, the king published a declaration warranting sports on Sundays.—*Rushworth.*

²³ This proclamation is dated May 1, 1638. It is one of the most important in our history. Cromwell, Hampden, Lords Say and Brook, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, were about to seek in America that liberty which they had struggled for in vain at home. In a happy hour for their country this vindictive measure of Laud restrained their departure. The ship was already chartered for the voyage. How little did either the archbishop or his master conceive the expansive force of the spirit thus pent up, or that it would so soon shatter their laboured fabric of absolute power!

dren, to keep their residence in their several counties, and forbidding them to inhabit in London, Westminster, and the places adjoining; and an information was afterwards lodged in the star-chamber against the Earl of Clare, Lord Mohun, and other peers, the Countess of Oxford, and many persons of distinction, by which great fines were exacted for the use of the crown.

The king, as if not satisfied with having irritated his English parliament, treated with equal haughtiness his parliament in Scotland. He went thither to be crowned in 1633; and when an act was passed at that time in relation to his royal prerogative, and the apparel of kirkmen, several of the barons and burgesses suspected that, under this last part, the surplice was intended to be introduced. The king was asked that question, but he made no answer. At the same time he took a list of the members out of his pocket, saying, “Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I will know the truth this day who will do me service and who will not.” In his progress, likewise, through some parts of Scotland, as if studious to be unpopular, he made so great a distinction between churchmen and presbyterians, and did it in such weak and un-

The king's
conduct in
Scotland.

A.D. 1633. necessary instances, as could not but give offence in a country where so much the greater part of
A.D. 1634. the people were presbyterians. When the provosts of Powis presented plate to him, one of them was not admitted to kiss his hand, because he was not a churchman; and when the nobility and gentry at Fife had prepared an entertainment for him, he refused to go to it, because many of them were presbyterians. He afterwards endeavoured by force to establish an hierarchy, and introduce the liturgy among them: and this drew upon him a war with that nation, which he was not able to support.

Arbitrary proceedings in England.

Ship-money.

As the discontinuance of parliaments in England drove the king to any resources for raising money, it gave encouragement to every kind of projectors. But of all the inventions for supplying the king, the writs for ship-money gave the greatest and most general dissatisfaction. A writ was sent in 1634 to the city of London,*

* By this, dated October 20, 1634, they were commanded and enjoined, upon their faith and allegiance, and under the forfeiture of all which they could forfeit, to carry to Portsmouth, before the 1st of March

following, one man-of-war of nine hundred tons, one of eight hundred, four of five hundred, and one of three hundred, furnished with men, victuals, and all warlike provisions.—*Rushworth.*

to prepare a certain number of men-of-war for A.D. 1634.
the king's use.²⁴ Writs, likewise, were sent into
the several counties for assessing the people ; and,
for five years together, this scheme produced two
hundred thousand pounds a year. The writ was
presented by the grand jury of Northampton as
a grievance ; upon which the clerk of the peace
and freemen of the jury were ordered to attend, A.D. 1639.
and give an account of their conduct ; and the
privy council sent a letter to Sir Christopher
Yelverton, high sheriff of Northampton, reprimanding
him in very haughty terms for officiously sending them the petition of the grand
jury, and for representing the difficulties which
he found in the execution of the king's writs.
Upon the general sense which the people had
of the injustice of this tax, Mr. Hampden had
in the year 1637, at his own expense, withstood
the exaction of it, by which he acquired at that
time a great and just reputation with the pub-

Mr. Hampden's noble conduct.

²⁴ This was only an extension of the demand that had been made eight years before. The king had then by his own authority called upon the maritime parts of his kingdom to supply him with a fleet ; he now went a step farther, and taxed the whole of the kingdom for the ostensible purpose of building and maintaining one. Precedents are dangerous things in the hand of such a monarch as Charles.

A.D. 1639. lic; and notwithstanding the opprobrious character given him by one historian, and the insidious attempts of others to detract from the merit and motives of his conduct, he has transmitted his name to posterity as a true asserter of the liberties of his country, and will be held in veneration so long as the least spark of English freedom is cherished in the breast.

Lord Clarendon's representation of things, considered.

Lord Clarendon, speaking of the tranquillity of the nation during this intermission of parliament, says, “That for twelve years they enjoyed the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age for so long time together had been blessed with; yet he allows there were extraordinary grievances. A proclamation, he admits, was published to inhibit all men to speak of another parliament; supplemental acts of state were made to supply defects of laws; tonnage and poundage, and other duties, which the parliament had refused, collected by order of council; new and greater impositions laid upon trade; obsolete laws revived and rigorously executed; unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; and, for the better support of these extraordinary ways, and to protect the agents, and to discountenance and

suppress all bold inquirers and opposers, the A.D. 1639. council-table and star-chamber enlarged their jurisdiction to a vast extent: that any disrespect to acts of state or to the persons* of statesmen was in no time more penal; and those foun-

* Mr. Bellasis, Lord Fauconberg's son, was committed to the Gate-house for not pulling off his hat to Lord Wentworth, lord president of the north. Many instances of extraordinary severity were shown to persons who had spoken even slightly of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was jealous to the greatest degree of his dignity, and earnest for punishing the least offenders against it. One remarkable instance was in the Rev. Mr. Lambert Osbaldston, a prebend and master of Westminster school. He and the Bishop of Lincoln were charged by information in the star-chamber, February 14, 1638-9, to have plotted together to divulge false news and lies, and to breed a difference between Lord Treasurer Weston and the archbishop. The charge was grounded upon some passages in two letters written by Mr. Osbaldston in January 1633-4; as for in-

stance: "The jealousy grows great and sharp between the Leviathan and the little meddling Hocus Pocus." And in another letter, "My dear lord, I cannot be quiet but I must write to your lordship: the sport is grown tragical; anything would be given for a sound and thorough charge to push at, and confound the little urchin." These letters were found in a box in the Bishop of Lincoln's palace at Bugden, some years after their being written, and at a time when he was in the Tower: there could be no purpose, therefore, of divulging them. Mr. Osbaldston denied that he meant the treasurer and the archbishop by those words; and they were applied to them only by an innuendo. The sentence, however, was, that the Bishop of Lincoln should be fined five thousand pounds to the king, and should pay three thousand pounds damages to the archbishop; should be im-

A.D. 1639. dations of right, by which men valued their security, to the apprehension of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed."

If it is true that the foundations of right were in such danger, it was necessary for patriots to exert themselves; and it is evident that the opposition made by the subsequent parliaments of A.D. 1640. April and November 1640, proceeded from an honest zeal and firm resolution to strengthen those foundations, to prop the bulwarks of the consti-

prisoned during the king's pleasure, and make his submission: That Mr. Osbaldston should be fined five thousand pounds to the king, should pay five thousand pounds damages to the archbishop, should be deprived of all spiritual dignities and promotions, should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and make his submission: that he should stand in the pillory in Dean's Yard before his own school, with his

ears nailed to the pillory. Mr. Osbaldston, who stood in a crowd in the court during the trial, when he found what censure would be passed upon him, went away immediately to his own house, and there left the following note on a desk: "If the archbishop inquire after me, tell him I am gone beyond Canterbury:" whereupon messengers were sent to the port towns to apprehend him; but he lay hid

²⁵ Laud had established a most efficient censorship of the press. Selden was bold enough to publish his elaborate treatise upon tithes during the archbishop's day of power. In this work he treats the divine origin claimed for that institution with very little ceremony; but the high commission court soon convinced him of his error, and Selden made haste to retract his heretical tenet.

tution, and to revive the dying laws of their country. It is as certain that the composure on which Lord Clarendon expatiates, was a silent, gloomy submission to the arbitrary power of the court, a power which few individuals could venture to withstand.

The king had no better success in his war against the Scotch than he had in those against France and Spain. He found it necessary to raise another army ; he was in the greatest distress for money, and the revenue of the crown was antici-

in a private house till the parliament met in November 1640.²⁵—*Rushworth.*

At a tavern in Chancery-lane, some young gentlemen of Lincoln's Inn were drinking a toast, which a drawer who attended them informed the archbishop was to his confusion ; whereupon his grace procured a warrant to a messenger to bring them before the council. A little before the time of their appearance, they applied themselves to the Earl of Dorset to stand their friend ; and acknowledged their unadvisedness in drinking a rash toast. The earl asked who was the witness against them ; they answered, one of the drawers :

Meeting of parliament.

“where did he stand,” said the earl, “when he heard you drink the toast ?” they replied, at the door going out of the room. “Tush,” said he, “the drawer was mistaken ; you drank to the confusion of the archbishop’s foes, and he heard only the first part of the words.” This hinted to the gentlemen a proper excuse, which they did not think of before. Lord Dorset, however, advised them to carry themselves with all humility and respect when they were called in before the king and council. They followed his advice, and by this means, and the favour of Lord Dorset and others, received only a reproof, and so were dismissed.

A.D. 1640. pated. These exigences at last obliged him to call a new parliament; though "those meetings," Lord Clarendon says, "had been of late attended with some disorders, the effect of mutinous spirits."* The parliament met April 13, 1640, in a disposition, and with a resolution, to set forth and redress the numerous public grievances that existed both in church and state. Petitions † were presented from several counties by the knights of shires, complaining of ship-money, projects, monopolies, the star-chamber, high commission courts, and other oppressions. Not one of the members offered to deny or justify these things. The sense of the house concurred with the petitioners. The members seemed determined to make a thorough inquiry into the national evils, with regard to the liberty and property of the subject, the privileges of parliament, and innovations in matters of religion. The bishops, ‡ at the very beginning of this reign,

Pernicious
doctrines of
the clergy.

* These were Mr. Hollis, Sir John Elliot, Mr. Selden, Sir Edward Coke, and some of the most eminent lawyers of the kingdom, who had exerted themselves in defence of the liberties of the subject.

† Arthur Capel, afterwards

Lord Capel, was the first who presented a petition, which was from the county of Hertford; and Mr. Grimston opened the debates upon the petitions.

—Rushworth.

‡ Mr. Locke.

A.D. 1640.

denied that they held their jurisdiction from the king, declaring that they held it from God alone; whilst, at the same time, the divine right of monarchy, the king's absolute power and independence of his parliament, were the avowed and favourite doctrines of many of the dignified clergy, not only at court and in the country, but at the universities, where the venom was likely to be yet more fatal by poisoning the minds of the youth committed to their care. Mr. Pym brought before the house at this time a paper, containing many scandalous assertions made by Dr. Beale, master of St. John's in Cambridge, in his sermon preached at St. Mary's, March 27, 1635, viz.

1st. That the king might constitute laws, when, where, and against whom he pleased.

2dly. That parliaments serve kings as men do apes, a bit and a blow; give him a subsidy, and take away two or three of his prerogatives.

3dly. That ministers silenced for not reading the book of recreation, and the king's declaration, are advanced, and these calves are worshipped even from Dan to Beersheba.

4thly. That tonnage and poundage are the king's as absolutely as his crown, defend he the

A.D. 1640. seas or not ; so are also our goods, ourselves, our wives and children, and he may call for his own when he will.

5thly. That the king can of himself make laws to bind the conscience.

Doctrines like these had before been publicly avowed by Sibthorpe, Manwaring, and others. Manwaring, in particular, in a sermon preached before the king soon after his coming to the crown, and which was afterwards published, maintained, “That the king’s royal will and pleasure in imposing laws and taxes, without the consent of parliament, did oblige the subject’s conscience upon pain of eternal damnation ; and that the authority of parliament was not necessary for raising aids and subsidies.” Lord Clarendon mentions, in a very slight and cursory manner, these doctrines, and the clamours occasioned by them. He says, “The indiscretion and folly of one sermon at Whitehall was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the wisdom, sobriety, and devotion of an hundred ;” which he imputes, as he does all the distraction of those times, to the perverseness of the people, “ who wanted a sense, acknowledgment, and value of their own happiness.” The true reason, however, why these

A.D. 1640.

doctrines were so generally exclaimed against, was because they were patronised by the court, which punished* those who opposed them, and rewarded† such as maintained them. Add to this, that they co-operated with the many courts of oppression in supporting an absolute power, confirmed the king in his arbitrary maxims, and probably had suggested many of them to him. To these doctrines, therefore, and the authors of them, if we

* Archbishop Abbot refused to license a sermon of Dr. Sibthorpe's, intitled Apostolical Obedience, preached before the judges at Northampton; in which he had asserted the king's power of raising money by his own authority. The king pressed the archbishop, by several messages, to license the sermon, and sent him word, "that if he did not despatch it, he would take another course with him." The archbishop persisting in his refusal, was sequestered from his office. A commission was granted to Bishop Laud, and four other bishops, to execute the archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and the archbishop died during the sequestration.

† Dr. Manwaring, upon an

accusation sent up by the house of commons to the house of lords, in the parliament of 1628, received judgment, that for his offence he should be suspended for the term of three years from the exercise of his function, and should be disabled from having thereafter any ecclesiastical dignity: and the lords resolved to address the king to call in the said sermon by proclamation. A proclamation was published, but the doctor immediately after received a pardon from the king, was made rector of Stamford Rivers in Essex, which he had a dispensation to hold with the rectory of St. Giles's in the Fields; and was soon after made bishop of St. David's.

A.D. 1640.

trace back events, as we ought to do, to their first causes, must the king's subsequent misfortunes be chiefly imputed.

Proceedings of the parliament.

Whilst the commons directed their attention to the preservation of their country's liberties and the redress of public grievances, the king fixed his only upon his own necessities; nor did there appear in him any sincere design of listening to the nation's complaints. At his desire, the lords came to a vote, "That his majesty's supply should have precedence before any other matter in consideration whatsoever;" and therefore desired a conference with the commons, to let them know their reasons for the same. The commons immediately resented this, and resolved, that the lords proposing a supply, and a time for them to proceed upon it, was a breach of their privileges. At a conference which ensued upon this occasion, they insisted upon a reparation, and that the lords should not, for the future, take notice of anything debated by them till they should think proper to declare it to their house. In the mean time they proceeded with great spirit and application upon the great task they had undertaken, and evinced a serious purpose to repel every encroachment of the crown. While they were

A.D. 1640.

debating upon the bringing up of a report made by Mr. Maynard concerning ship-money, the lords sent to desire another conference : the house was divided whether to yield to it or no; and, by a majority of above a hundred votes, the commons resolved not to postpone the consideration of the grand business of ship-money for the conference. To induce the lords, however, to join with them in a representation of their grievances to the king, they came to several resolutions, which a committee was appointed to offer to the lords at a conference. The king, finding this disposition in the commons, sent a message to them by Sir Henry Vane, to quicken the supply ; which he repeated two days afterwards. He told them, “ That upon their granting twelve subsidies, to be presently passed, and to be paid in three years, (with a proviso that it should not determine the sessions,) his majesty would not only for the present forbear the levying any ship-money, but would give way to the utter abolishing of it by any course which themselves should like best; and for their grievances, he would give them as much time as might be, now, and the next Michaelmas.”

Though a proviso was proposed by the king to

A.D. 1640. be added to the subsidy bill, that this should not determine the sessions, yet the asking such a supply for three years, before any grievances were redressed, was a sufficient intimation that they could not afterwards depend upon a long continuation of the present parliament; nor until the twelve subsidies were spent, and the three years expired, could they hope for the meeting of a new one. The commons immediately took the message into consideration, and the day was consumed in debate. Upon adjourning, they desired Sir Henry Vane to acquaint the king that they intended the next day to proceed in the farther consideration thereof. They met at the usual hour,²⁶ but the speaker did not attend; for Secretary Windenbank went early to his house, and, according to command, carried him to Whitehall; and about eleven o'clock that day (the 5th of May) the commons were sent for to attend the king, and the parliament was dissolved. The king affected, as usual, to make a distinction between the houses, for he addressed himself only to the lords, passing many encomiums on their conduct, and using

Parliament dissolved.

²⁶ The houses then usually met at eight o'clock in the morning, and adjourned at twelve; but during these debates they continued sitting until six in the afternoon.—*Clarendon.*

very reproachful language towards the com- A.D. 1640.
mons.

Lord Clarendon acknowledges, “that it could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them;” and no one could imagine what offence they had given, which put the king upon the resolution of dissolving them. The leaders of this parliament were, however, the leaders in the subsequent one; their conduct was the same, as were likewise their complaints.*²⁷

* Among the members of the parliament in November 1640, there were no eminent ones who were not in that of April, except Sir John Clotworthy, Messrs. Jeoffry Palmer, Selden, Ludlow, and Whitlocke: of

these, Selden had been in several of the former parliaments, had exerted himself strenuously for the subject’s liberties, and had been imprisoned on that account.

²⁷ It was, however, much doubted by the leaders of the popular party, whether this house was sufficiently resolute for the emergency. Clarendon says, that, within an hour after the dissolution, he met Mr. St. John, “who had naturally a great cloud in his face, and was very seldom known to smile.” St. John at this time, however, appeared remarkably cheerful, and to Mr. Hyde’s lamentations upon the unseasonable dismissal of this wise parliament, replied that “all was well, and it must be worse before it could be better; this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done.”—*Clarendon*, vol. i.

A.D. 1640.

Arbitrary
measures
continued.

The king, though he found his necessities so great, and the nation in convulsion, did not recede from any part of his former conduct; but, as if he made it a point of honour to act in every instance in defiance of his people, he continued steadfastly to pursue all those measures against which the commons had declared themselves.

During their short session the house had come to several resolutions which they had offered to the lords at a conference. Among other things they had resolved, "That one head of the conference should be the complaints that had been made concerning the punishing of men out of parliament, in breach of their privileges." The very next day after the dissolution, Lord Brooke's study, cabinet, and

p. 218. The gloomy republican was probably right; it appears doubtful whether this house would even have had the courage to enter upon their journals a formal protest against the levying of ship-money. In their opinions upon the illegality of this impost, they certainly showed themselves nearly unanimous, and they proposed it as one of the points of conference with the lords; but a distinct resolution upon this subject was what Clarendon thought the popular leaders would not have had the confidence to attempt, nor the credit to compass. This historian's praise is certainly a good ground for suspicion. But the conduct of the king overcame every loyal scruple. The next parliament lost all awe of the regal spoliator.

pockets were searched for papers : Mr. Bellasis, knight of the shire for Yorkshire, and Sir John Hotham, were summoned before the council, the king being present ; and, having been examined concerning some transactions in parliament, they were committed to the Fleet. Mr. Crew (afterwards Lord Crew) was required several times by the king to deliver up all petitions, papers, and complaints which he had received whilst he was chairman in the committee for religion. Mr. Crew, being unwilling to discover the names of subscribers to petitions complaining of innovations, refused to deliver them ; and was therefore committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he continued till near the meeting of the parliament in November following.

The commons had likewise resolved, “ That, in the conference with the lords, there should be a protestation and saving made to preserve and keep entire the rights of the commons not to be bound by any canons that were or should be made upon any commission granted to the convocation, without their consent in parliament.” The convocation, however, which used to end with the parliament, was by a new writ continued under the name of a synod ; and sat till the

A.D. 1640. 29th of May. Seventeen new canons were made by them; the first of which supported the doctrines of implicit and passive obedience, and declared monarchy to be of divine right. Another of the canons enjoined an oath* to be taken, which was chiefly intended for the establishment of the hierarchy. These canons were confirmed by the king under the great seal. The synod, likewise, granted six subsidies, to be paid by the clergy in six years, with a penalty to be imposed upon the refusers, viz. that these should

* Lord Clarendon says, "this synod gave subsidies out of parliament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly it might not do."

Lord Digby, speaking of the convocation, in his speech in the following parliament, says, "What good Christian can think with patience on such an ensnaring oath as that which is by the new canons enjoined to be taken by all ministers, lawyers, physicians, and graduates in the universities; where, besides swearing such an impertinence as that things necessary to salvation are contained in discipline; besides swearing those to be of divine right, which amongst the

learned were never pretended to as the arch things in our hierarchy; besides the swearing not to consent to the change of that which the state may in great reason think fit to alter; besides the bottomless perjury of an etcetera; all this men must swear that they swear freely and voluntarily, what they are compelled unto; and lastly, that they take that oath in the literal sense, whereof no two of the makers themselves, that I have heard of, could ever agree in the understanding."

Dr. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, refusing to subscribe this oath, was suspended till he submitted.

be deprived of their functions, and should be excommunicated. A.D. 1640.

The commons had resolved, “ That the complaints which had been made by petitions from the several counties concerning military charges, viz. coat and conduct money, wages and arms taken from the owners, forcing the country to buy and provide, at their charges, horses and carts by way of tax, should be made a branch of the conference.” Two days after the parliament was dissolved, letters were sent from the privy council to the lords lieutenants of counties, to return the names of the principal men of the several counties who refused to pay coat and conduct money for the men to be levied there; and to commit to prison those who should refuse to receive prest money. A letter was, likewise, sent to the lord mayor of London to levy four thousand foot for the expedition against the Scotch, and for providing coat and conduct money for them.

The commons had also resolved, “ That the complaints which had been made by several petitions from the counties, relating to ship-money, should be a subject of the conference.” Two days after the dissolution, an order was made by the king and council, that a round course should be

A.D. 1640. taken with the high sheriffs of counties who had been negligent in the execution of the writs for ship-money ; and the attorney-general was ordered to proceed in the star-chamber against the lord mayor, and sheriffs of London and Middlesex, for not distraining against persons according to the said writs ; as, likewise, against the high sheriffs of York, Berks, Surrey, Leicester, Essex, Northampton, and Suffolk. And letters were sent to the sheriffs of all the other counties, requiring them to pay in at least one half of the money payable by their several counties by the last day of that month, and the other half by the 24th of June following ; or they must expect to feel the smart and punishment due to their remissness.

General
disgust of
the people.

The dissolution of the parliament before anything had been done to satisfy the people, when nothing had been done to irritate the king, when the parliament had sat so short a time after so long an intermission, occasioned an universal concern and astonishment ; an astonishment which was immediately converted into anger, when the public saw the king persist in his former measures. This spirit soon broke out in complaints and murmurs against his ministers. Lord

Clarendon, however, observes, “ that in less than A.D. 1640. three weeks after the dissolution, by the voluntary loan of the particular lords of the council, and of other private gentlemen about the city, some relating to the court, and others strangers to it, there was no less than three hundred thousand pounds paid into the exchequer, to be issued out as his majesty should direct, which was an unanswerable evidence that the hearts of his subjects were not then alienated from their duty to the king, or a just jealousy for his honour.” This loan was so far from being a voluntary one, that there was an order for the lord mayor and all the aldermen of the city of London to meet, and set down in writing the names of all such persons, inhabitants within their respective wards, as they conceived were able to lend the king upon security the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and to set down how much, in their opinion, every person was able to lend towards the said sum; and four of the aldermen who refused to set down the names of persons as ordered, were, by warrants dated May the 10th, committed to different prisons, viz. Alderman Soanes to the Fleet, Alderman Atkyns to the King’s Bench, Sir Nicholas Rainten to the Marshalsea, and

A.D. 1640. Alderman Geere to the Gatehouse; and the attorney-general was ordered to proceed against them in the star-chamber.

Violent methods of raising money.

The king, to satisfy his necessities, chose to have recourse to any violent methods rather than recede from his unconstitutional demands, and receive supplies from his people. The expedients to which he was now driven were all of them unjustifiable, and some of them contemptible. He seized the bullion in the mint, which was brought from abroad to be coined there. This gave a great alarm to the Spanish merchants and others, who alleged that it would for ever after prevent the bringing of bullion into the Tower; and would prove of great prejudice to the king's reputation, and to the public, by the loss of the coinage. To gain a little ready money, he bought all the pepper lying under the Old Exchange upon trust, and sold it out at a much less value. It was proposed in council to debase the coin by mixing copper with the silver, and to coin three hundred thousand pounds, of which the fourth part only should be silver, and the other should be copper; and that this should be current money to pay the army, which was marching to Newcastle against the Scotch.

The Scotch army, at the latter end of August, A.D. 1640. entered into England, upon a certain knowledge of the general discontent of the people, and upon a supposed invitation from several of the English nobility. Lord Saville, afterwards Earl of Sussex, had written a letter,* which he had subscribed himself, and to which, at the same time, he had added the forged names of twelve or fourteen of the most eminent among the English nobility, to invite and encourage that army to enter into England. This letter was sent into Scotland by Mr. Henry Darley †, who remained there as agent from the said English lords, until he had gained his point. When the English and Scotch lords met together, the letter caused great disputes among them; and at last, Lord Saville, being reconciled to the court, confessed to the king the whole affair.²⁸

* Lord Shaftesbury's manuscript close prisoner to the castle at York.—*Rushworth.*

† He was afterwards com-

²⁸ This accusation against Lord Saville before rested upon the authority of Nalson (vol. ii. p. 428) and Clarendon (vol. ii. p. 303). The former, indeed, gives a very circumstantial account of the discovery of the fraud, and of the erasure of the forged names; and he adds a ridiculous story that, upon discovering the forgery, the Scots were about to retreat to their own country,

A.D. 1640.
Temper of
the English
army.

The English army, which was so expensive to the king, and so burthensome * to the subject, proved of no service. They allowed themselves to be routed by the Scotch at Newborne upon Tyne in a dishonourable manner; and openly imputed their defeat to a dissatisfaction with the cause for which they fought. Many of the officers and private soldiers, in their march to the rendezvous, did not hesitate to declare their dislike for the war, and that they would not fight to maintain the pride and power of the bishops;

* A petition, signed by a great number of the principal gentlemen of Yorkshire, assembled at the assizes at York, July 28, 1640, was presented to the king, setting forth that, to their great impoverishment, they had expended the year before a hundred thousand pounds in the execution of the king's commands about his military affairs; and complaining of the oppressions of billeting of soldiers upon them. When this petition was taken into consideration by the council, Lord Strafford said it seemed to be a mutinous petition.

and throw themselves upon the king's mercy. Both these authors were too staunch royalists to canvass very strictly any story told to the disadvantage of Lord Saville; and great doubt was thrown upon their assertion, by the absence of all allusion to such a letter in any of the published correspondence of the period. The commission and discovery of a fraud of so great importance appeared to be affairs of too much magnitude to be passed over in silence. To Lord Shaftesbury, however, the objections made against Nalson and Clarendon do not apply.

a resolution which, if we may judge from the ill A.D. 1640. success that afterwards happened, seems to have been seriously formed and acted upon.

This dissatisfaction did not appear only in the army. A petition,* subscribed by the Earls of Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Warwick, Bristol, and Mulgrave, by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Edward Howard, Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Mandeville, Lord Brooke, and Lord Paget, was sent to the king. The petition† consisted of seven articles.

Firstly. The war with Scotland, whereby the king's revenue was much wasted, his subjects burthened with coat and conduct money, billeting of soldiers, and other military charges; and divers rapines and disorders committed by the soldiers, and the whole kingdom become full of fear and discontent.

Secondly. The sundry innovations in matters of religion; the oath and canons lately imposed upon the clergy, and others his majesty's subjects.

* The thanks of the house of commons, and likewise of the house of lords, were ordered in the subsequent parliament to be given to these peers for this petition; and the lords in parliament resolved that, for

the honour of the petitioners, their petition should be recorded in their journals, and should be esteemed as the act of that house.

† Whitlocke, p. 34. Parlam. Hist. v. viii. p. 491.

Petition of several lords.

A.D. 1640. Thirdly. The great increase of popery, and employing of popish recusants, and others ill affected to the religion by law established, in places of power and trust, and especially in the commanding of men and arms, both in the field and divers counties in the realm.

Fourthly. The great mischief which might fall upon this kingdom if the intentions, which had been credibly reported, of bringing in of Irish forces should take effect.

Fifthly. The urging of ship-money, and prosecution of some sheriffs in the star-chamber for not levying of it.

Sixthly. The heavy charges of merchandise, to the discouragement of trade; the multitude of monopolies and other patents, whereby the commodities and manufactures of the kingdom are much burthened, to the great and universal grievance of the people.

Seventhly. The great grief of the subjects by the intermission of parliaments; in the late and former dissolving of such as had been called; with the hopeful effects which, otherwise, they might have procured.

For a remedy of which grievances, they besought the king to summon a parliament within

some short and convenient time; whereby the cause of these and other great grievances might be taken away, the authors and counsellors of them be brought to such legal trial and condign punishment as the nature of the offence required, and the war be composed without bloodshed, in such a manner as might conduce to the honour and safety of his majesty's person, the content of his people, and the continuance of both his kingdoms against the common enemy of the reformed religion.

This petition was dated August the 28th, 1640, and was presented to the king, at York, by Lord Mandeville and Lord Edward Howard.* The king immediately called a cabinet council, wherein the petition was declared to be mutinous, and it was resolved to proceed against those two lords for mutiny. When the council was up, and the king gone, Duke Hamilton, remaining behind with the Earl of Strafford, asked him "whether he was sure the army would stand by them?" Lord Strafford, in a surprise, answered, "he was afraid not, and protested he did not think of that before." The duke replied, "If we are not sure of the army, our heads may be in danger in-

* Lord Shaftesbury's manuscript.

A.D. 1640. stead of theirs ;" whereupon they both agreed to go to the king, and the resolution was laid aside.

City of London sends a petition to the same purpose.

The city of London, likewise, resolved to present a petition to the same purpose, which the privy council being informed of, wrote a letter, dated September the 11th, to the lord mayor and aldermen to prevent it ; but, notwithstanding this, the city persisted, and sent some of the aldermen and common council to the king at York to present their petition. The wishes of the nation were as fervent as they were general for a new parliament, and for putting an end to the war with the Scotch. When the king called the Yorkshire gentry together, September the 10th, and proposed to them that they should pay the train-bands for two months, they took the proposition into immediate consideration ; and the next day delivered an answer, That they had agreed to the payment ; but, at the same time, they beseeched the king to consider how to compose the difference with the Scotch, that the country might enjoy peace, and not run more and more into danger ; and they desired him to think of summoning a parliament, the only way to confirm a peace betwixt both

Similar request of the Yorkshire gentry.

kingdoms. They proposed to the Earl of Straf- A.D. 1640.
ford to present their answer to the king; but
he desiring them to leave out their advice
about calling a parliament, they refused to do
this, and therefore delivered their answer them-
selves.

CHAPTER IV.

Summary view of Charles the First's reign continued, till the time when Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper began to distinguish himself in the management of public affairs.

A.D. 1640.

Meeting of
the long
parliament.

THE king now laboured under the greatest difficulties. He could no longer struggle with or supply his wants : his own army was discontented, and the Scotch army successful ; while both of them were very burthensome to the public. He was, therefore, obliged to give way to the universal call of the nation, and to summon a parliament. This parliament met on the 3rd of November 1640. Petitions relating to grievances were immediately presented to the commons from every part of the country ; and these petitions were so numerous, that the whole house was divided and subdivided into above forty committees to hear and examine them. The canons and constitutions made by the convocation were condemned by the unanimous

voice of the house, as containing in them matters repugnant to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subjects, and tending to sedition.

A.D. 1640
Spirited
proceedings
of the par-
liament.

The writs for ship-money, and the extra-judicial opinions of the judges concerning it, were also unanimously condemned, as being contrary to the laws of the realm, the right of property, the liberty of the subject, to former resolutions in parliament, and the petition of rights.

No one was at this time more forward, or vehement in representing the public grievances, than Mr. Hyde, who was afterwards Earl of Clarendon. In his impeachment of three of the judges,* he said, “the great resolution in ship-money was a crime of a prodigious nature;”

Zeal of Mr.
Hyde.

* Though the judges had been highly criminal in supporting the arbitrary conduct of the court, those were much more so who had obliged them to it by threats or solicitations. Mr. Hyde was one of a committee who were appointed, December the 7th, to go forthwith to the judges, to know how they were threatened or solicited, and in what

manner and by whom, to give any opinion or judgment concerning ship-money.

It is apparent, likewise, that the judges had not gone such lengths in sacrificing the laws as had been expected and insisted on. For when Felton, who had stabbed the Duke of Buckingham in 1628, was brought before the council, and pressed to acknowledge

A.D. 1640. and he set forth the state of the public in a different light from what it appears in his history. Instead of that “plenty and felicity” which he there describes, he said to the lords, that “the peace of this island had been shaken and frightened into tumults and commotions, into the poverty, though not into the rage, of war, as a people prepared for destruction and desolation;” and “it is no marvel than an irregular, extravagant, arbitrary power, like a torrent, hath broke in upon us, when our banks and our bulwarks, the laws, were in the custody of such persons.”

who advised him to commit such a bloody fact, and if the puritans had no hand therein ; he denied (as he did to the last) that they had, or that any person knew of his intentions. Laud (then bishop of London) told him, “if he would not confess, he must go to the rack :” Felton replied, “ if it must be so, he could not tell whom he might name in the extremity of torture ; and if what he should say then, must go for truth, he could not tell whether he might not name his lordship, or any others of the council ; for torture might draw unexpected things from

him.” The king, upon this, ordered the opinion of the judges to be taken, whether Felton might be racked ; and, on November 14, 1628, being assembled together in Serjeants’ Inn, they agreed that no such punishment was known or allowed by the law. When Felton was sentenced to death, he offered his hand that did the fact to be cut off ; but the court said, they could not inflict that punishment. The king, however, sent to the judges to desire that his hand might be cut off before execution ; but the court answered, that it could not be.

The commons, upon the grounds of the petitions presented to them, proceeded with vigour in an inquiry into the conduct of the ministers. Lord Keeper Finch, and Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, a noted papist, fled into foreign parts; but the Earl of Strafford, who trusted, though unwillingly, to the king's power to protect him, was soon brought to the scaffold. He had at first been as loud in complaints, and as zealous for rectifying the disorders of the nation, as any man; but he afterwards deserted the popular party, and became as forward a supporter of the arbitrary proceedings of the crown. Though he was prosecuted by the commons, and fell under an act of attainder, he more properly fell a victim to his enemies* at court; for he might have been

A.D. 1640.
The king's
ministers
prosecuted.

Earl of
Strafford
beheaded.

* Though the Earl of Strafford was the only one that, for some years, suffered death under the prosecution of the commons, (for Archbishop Laud was not beheaded till 1644,) Lord Clarendon charges them, at the beginning of this parliament, with having an appetite for blood. At the same time, he intimates that Secretary Windebank ought to have suffered death likewise; though it is evident that the secretary was but an under

instrument; and he declared afterwards, in a letter from France, that, in his protection of popish priests, he had acted by orders. It is remarkable, also, that Mr. Hyde (Lord Clarendon) carried up a message to the lords after the trial, that Lord Strafford intended to escape from the Tower, and desired his guard might be strengthened, and that he might be kept in close confinement.—*Rushworth.*

A.D. 1640. preserved if the king had not been overruled by these, and if he had strictly adhered to the advice of Mr. Holles.*

Remarks
on the
king's con-
duct.

It is an observation frequently made, that King Charles lost his power by giving up Lord Strafford to the parliament; an observation which appears calculated to ensure the safety of succeeding ministers, by encouraging their masters to support them at any rate. But the truth of the case is, that the king had it not in his power openly to protect the Earl of Strafford, without a breach with his parliament, which, considering his necessities, would have been too hazardous an attempt. It is evident, that the loss of his power should be really dated from the period in which he lost the confidence of his people. It was not owing to his making concessions, but to his not making them in time. By the tenacity with which he clung to every abuse and every usurpation, he showed that each concession was dictated by a sense of weakness to resist his subjects, not by a feeling of affection for them.

* Bishop Burnet has given a relation of this from Lord Holles. Mr. Stringer (who died in 1702, many years before the bishop's history ap- peared) has related the same with no material alterations, and says, he had often heard it from Lord Holles.

A.D. 1640.

The jealousy and distrust which the people had entertained of the king, and which his principles and conduct had too deeply implanted in their minds, were the real foundation of his misfortunes ; they rendered all his endeavours to satisfy the nation ineffectual, and they deprived even his virtues of their efficacy. That adherence to his principles, which, in a just cause, would have appeared firmness of mind, in an unjust one deserved no other name than obstinacy. The king believed that he held his crown by a divine right, and that the people owed him a passive obedience. He must, therefore, think that they could not limit his power ; that he was superior to the laws ; and that he might dispense with these as he might think proper. This the clergy taught ; and what they maintained he had a right to do, the king unfortunately showed he was resolved to do. The parliament, however, were equally resolved ; besides the acts for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, they prepared several laws for redressing the public grievances : to these the king readily gave his assent ; and, among others, to an act for triennial parliaments, an act for granting the king a subsidy of tonnage and poundage, and an act for declaring void the late

A.D. 1640. proceedings touching ship-money.* These acts had an immediate and universal influence in composing the troubles and restoring the quiet of the nation.²⁹

If the king had properly considered his own interest, as connected with that of the public; if he had not thought himself entitled to an unlimited authority; here was a happy opportunity for him to have concluded all differences with his parliament: with the exceptions of the act for Lord Strafford's attainder, (which was owing to a resentment for his having so shamefully abandoned

* Lord Clarendon says, “The king's giving his assent to this bill, was a frank departure from a right vindicated by a judgment in the exchequer chamber:” yet he himself impeached, at the bar of the house of lords, three of the

judges for giving the said judgment; which, with great acrimony, he called a crime of a prodigious nature, and in particular, he said, “the demanding of ship-money was against Magna Charta.”

²⁹ The royal assent was not very readily obtained for these bills. They were presented together with a poll bill, and bills for the abolition of the court of star-chamber, the high commission, and several other courts. But while Charles gave an immediate assent to the poll bill, he affected to pay no attention whatever to the others. The murmurs, however, which this conduct excited quickly caused him to pass these also. As usual, the concession was resisted just long enough to render it ungracious.

the cause of liberty, for which he had originally been an advocate and sufferer,) and the bill for continuing the parliament, (for which the frequent and abrupt dissolutions had furnished a plea,) none of the laws now passed had the least appearance of violence, or have been since complained of. They were all just, salutary, and constitutional. Though they preserved the rights of the people, they did not interfere with the interest of the crown. The parliament had hitherto proceeded with zeal for the constitution, without derogating from the honour of the king, or offering him any personal indignity.

That marvellous calm, which, Lord Clarendon says, ensued, both within doors and without, after passing these laws, might have been perpetual, and would in all probability have continued, if the king's subsequent conduct had not again raised up the storm. He had declared to his parliament that he would take a journey into Scotland. The necessity of this did not appear; and any step so extraordinary, which was not necessary, at so critical a time, must consequently breed suspicions. The parliament could not be free from these: and accordingly, in an address, they desired him to lay aside his design of going; but without effect.

The king's
journey
into Scot-
land.

A.D. 1641. They therefore sent a committee of both houses, Lord Howard for the lords, Mr. Hampden and Sir Philip Stapleton for the commons, to attend him in his journey.³⁰ Whilst he was in Scotland, he made it his study to gain over those who had been most active against him; and particularly Lesley, general of the Scotch army, whom he at that time made an earl. He was so liberal of his favours, that, as Lord Clarendon says, “he seemed to have made his progress into Scotland only that he might make a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom.” The way to obtain any favours from him was open; for the same author says, “that many of that nation were whispering in his ear, and assuring him, that, as soon as the troubles of the late storm could be perfectly calmed, they would reverse and repeal whatsoever was now unreasonably extorted from him.” Of these insinuations the committee could not be ignorant: the king’s receiving and encouraging such insinuations, and

³⁰ Besides the members mentioned in the text, this committee included the Earl of Bedford, Sir William Armyne, and Mr. Fiennes. For the appointment of this committee, and for other precautions, the houses sat on Sunday; but they cautiously apologized to their constituents for this irregularity, which they excused by stating that they were engaged upon a work of necessity.

making them the steps to his favour, afforded an A.D. 1641. indirect declaration of his intentions. The parliament, knowing this, must know that they could not be secure without proceeding farther; and that the people could not depend on the enjoyment of those laws they had obtained, without depriving the king of the power to break them again. They saw that his assent to them was but a temporary compliance, which, indeed, was consonant to the whole tenor of his former conduct.

The king, before his journey into Scotland, had countenanced a design of some officers to inflame the English army against the parliament; * a circumstance which had revived the distrust the public had of his sincerity. This unnecessary journey into Scotland, and extraordinary liberality to the Scotch general and others, increased this distrust; and the Irish rebellion, which broke out during his stay in Scotland, unhappily confirmed it. Above one hundred and fifty thousand protestants, according to the general accounts, were massacred by the Irish papists,³¹ with all the cir-

Irish mas-
sacre.

* Rapin.

³¹ Clarendon says, forty or fifty thousand, and the number was, doubtless, very much less. Mr. O'Driscoll's patriotism is too conspicuous in this part of his history.

A.D. 1641.

cumstances of cruelty which a superstitious rage could inspire. The leaders among the Irish published in a circular letter, that the English protestants, especially the parliament, had been guilty of divers great and heinous affronts to the king's person and prerogative ; and that therefore the king had granted them a commission * to possess themselves of all places of strength in the kingdom of Ireland. Whether the assertion that the king had granted such a commission was true or false, it had a fatal influence upon the minds of the people of England ; and as the Irish in their declaration made the English parliament the great object of their resentment, this document naturally induced the public to regard the parliament as their principal bulwark against the fury of the papists.

Affairs were in this fatal situation, and the people in this unhappy disposition, at the king's return from Scotland. If the parliament, from the private views or resentment of any particular members, had been ever so ill disposed towards the king, nothing could have enabled them to

* It cannot be thought that the king was privy to the massacre; but it is apparent that, in the war which afterwards ensued between him and the

parliament, he intended to make use of those Irish who had been actors in the destruction of the protestants.

pursue, the extreme measures which they afterwards took, but the assistance and affections of the public; and nothing but the king's want of sincerity, of which he had given the strongest proofs,* could have so closely united the public

A.D. 1641.
* The following instances, among others, of the king's violating his promise were remarkable.

March 24, 1641-2, he repealed his grant for passing the bill of tonnage and poundage.—*Whitelocke*, p. 55.

March the 4th, 1642-3, commissioners for a treaty of peace, the Earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierpoint, Sir William Armyne, Sir John Holland, and Bulstrode Whitelocke were sent to Oxford. Whitelocke, in p. 65, says, upon one of the most material points they pressed his majesty with their reasons, and best arguments they could use, to grant what they desired. The king said, "he was fully satisfied; and promised to give them his answer in writing according to their desire; but because it was then past midnight, and too late to put into writing, he would have it drawn up the next morning, and then he would give them his answer in writing, as it was now

agreed upon." They waited upon him the next morning at the hour appointed; but, instead of that answer which they expected, and were promised, the king gave them a paper quite contrary to what was concluded the night before, and very much tending to the breach of the treaty. They did humbly expostulate this with his majesty, and pressed him "upon his royal word," and the ill consequences which they feared would follow upon this his new paper; but the king told them "he had altered his mind," and that the paper which he now gave them was his answer, which he was now resolved to make upon their last debate; and they could obtain no other from him; which occasioned much sadness and trouble to them. Some of his own friends informed them, that after they were gone from the king, and his council were also gone away, some of his bed-chamber, (and they went higher,) being

A.D. 1641. with the parliament. As the parliament seemed more and more determined to secure the constitution against any future encroachments; so the king, after his return, became more violent in his

for the continuance of the war, never left pressing and persuading the king, till they prevailed with him to change his former resolutions, and to give order for his answer to be drawn as it was now delivered.

—*Whitlocke*, p. 65.

Many endeavours were used, from time to time, to bring matters to an accommodation by way of treaty; but some one unlucky accident or other rendered them abortive. At the treaty of Uxbridge, though the parliament's demands were high, and the king showed a more than ordinary aversion to comply with them; yet the ill posture of his affairs at that time, and the fatal consequences they feared would follow upon breaking off the treaty, obliged a great many of the king's friends, and more particularly that noble person the Earl of Southampton, who had gone post from Uxbridge to Oxford for that purpose, to press the king again and again upon their knees to yield to

the necessity of the times, and, by giving his assent to some of the most material propositions that were sent him, to settle a lasting peace with his people. The king was, at last, prevailed with to follow their counsel; and the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect: and so sure were they of a happy end of all differences, that the king at supper complaining his wine was not good, one told him merrily, he hoped his majesty would drink better with the lord mayor at Guildhall before the week was over. But so it was, that when they came early the next morning to wait on him with the warrant that had been agreed on over-night, they found his majesty had changed his resolution, and was become inflexible in these points. What occasioned this alteration in the king's mind, was a letter he had just received from the Marquis of Montrose out of Scotland, ac-

proceedings.³² His removing the governor of the Tower, and putting in another, who was universally obnoxious, and this in the midst of the people's jealousy and apprehensions; his seizing the papers of particular members of parliament, and going to the house in a hostile manner to demand their persons; all these intemperate acts, at a time too when the parliament's credit and authority were so great were as weak as they were violent.

The point upon which the king ought, in policy, to have made his stand against the parliament, was the act that they should not be dissolved without their own consent; for this was a change of the constitution, and an invasion of his just prerogative. Upon this point all moderate men would have joined him; and the public would,

quainting him with some unexpected success; and, therefore, desiring him not to treat with the parliament.—*Wellwood's Memoirs.*

³² The reason generally assigned by the people for the removal of Sir William Balfour from the governorship of the Tower was, that he had refused to connive at the escape of the Earl of Strafford when the court had matured a plot for that purpose. Colonel Lunsford, who succeeded Balfour, was at the time an outlaw; a sentence he had incurred by an attempt at assassination.

A.D. 1642. perhaps, have seen the force of his reasons against so violent an act. Many, upon seeing the king urged to a compliance with a thing unjust in its own nature, would have lost sight of the necessity which they thought there was for such a measure, and have been more slow in justifying or supporting the parliament in their other proceedings. But, on the contrary, the king, through a mistaken pride, was obstinate for his prerogative in points obnoxious to public liberty and unknown to our constitution, and this made the commons the more resolute in their measures. Thus affairs were carried on till each side was too much inflamed. The king was full of anger at the proceedings of the parliament; and his anger was stimulated by the courtiers about him. The parliament, fully determined to support their conduct, and pursue the reformation they had begun, were without confidence in the honour of the king, and felt it necessary to guard with watchfulness every success which they obtained with so much difficulty. All England was divided into parties for the king or the parliament. Every man was engaged, either in inclination or action, for one or the other.

CHAPTER V.

Account of the life of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and of the concern he had in public affairs, from the year 1643 to the death of Oliver Cromwell.

WE are now arrived at the period when Sir A.D. 1643. Anthony began to distinguish himself in the conduct of public affairs. During the years 1641 and 1642, he resided with his lady and family in different parts of the kingdom, as the circumstances of the times rendered it necessary. The counties he chiefly lived in were those of Norfolk, Nottingham, York, and Durham. He was at Nottingham and Derby when the king was at those places, but he only appeared there as a spectator. But in 1643 he returned into Dorsetshire, to his house at St. Giles's Winborne; and then it was that his superior talents soon became conspicuous. He was often meditating on the immediate mischiefs and the future evil consequences of the civil war; and he justly apprehended that the longer it should continue, the

Sir Anthony
engages in
public
affairs.

A.D. 1643. more fatal it would prove. He was sensible that whichever side should conquer, the other would be much depressed ; and that the contest, if persisted in, must end either in an unlimited monarchy, if the king prevailed, or an indigested commonwealth if the parliament succeeded. To avoid both these evils, he formed a scheme which, though not calculated to make his court either to the king or the parliament, was intended to restore and establish the nation's peace upon a solid and happy foundation. When Sir Anthony had prepared his plan, he went to Oxford, where he was recommended to the king by his relation the Marquis of Hertford, and introduced by Lord Falkland. At his audience, he informed the king, "that he had a proposal to make, which he hoped might put an end to the war, and terminate the differences between him and the parliament." The king, looking earnestly at him, said, "You are a young man, and talk great things. What way will you take to compass such an undertaking?" Sir Anthony replied, "that he was persuaded the men of estates in almost every part of England were tired of the war, especially as they had no fairer prospect of its conclusion than they had at first ; that he knew this was the

Scheme
formed by
him.

Lays it be-
fore the
king.

opinion of those who resided in his county, and where he had any concerns. He therefore desired the king would authorize him to treat with the principal garrisons of the parliament, and get these delivered into the hands of such persons as were men of character, and would act impartially between him and the parliament: that these should declare for calling a new and a free parliament, who, perhaps, might be better disposed to accommodate the differences than those whose minds might have been sharpened by some former proceedings." He made his proposal appear so practicable, and so much to the king's satisfaction, that he was presently commissioned to put it in execution.

Commissioned to carry it into execution.

He returned to Dorsetshire, and met with such success in his treaty with the garrisons of Weymouth, Poole, Dorchester, and other places, that the garrison of Weymouth actually admitted the persons recommended by him, and the rest engaged to follow their example. But Prince Maurice, who commanded some of the king's forces in those parts, entered the town and pillaged it, after it was agreed to be surrendered; which made the troops of the garrison think themselves to be betrayed. Sir Anthony not only expressed his

Scheme defeated by Prince Maurice.

A.D. 1643. resentment to Prince Maurice, but sent notice to Poole and the other garrisons to be upon their guard, as he could not secure his articles to them. He went immediately afterwards to Oxford, and gave the king an account of what progress he had made, and the interruption he had met with in his undertaking; at which the king shook his head with some concern, but said little.

Another scheme formed by Sir Anthony.

This scheme being thus defeated, Sir Anthony formed another, which was carried farther than the former; for, by his interest and indefatigable application, he engaged in it a great part of the independent gentlemen in England. He proposed to raise the posse comitatus, under the command of the several high sheriffs. These, upon a treaty being set on foot between the king and the parliament, were to declare and join against that side which should appear immoderate, or averse to a fair and just accommodation. By the assistance of Sir Walter Earle, Serjeant Fountain, and others, he pursued his design with such success in Dorsetshire and the adjacent counties, that a considerable body of men was soon raised. These, who were afterwards called the club-men, alarmed the armies both of the king and parliament; and if some, who had undertaken to rise,

had not failed in their engagement, they might A.D. 1643.
 have carried their point, and forced both parties
 into a peace. This conduct, however, was misre-
 presented to the king ; and those courtiers who
 were for prolonging the war found means to irri-
 tate him against Sir Anthony, that they might
 suppress his active genius, and prevent his farther
 schemes. Accordingly, they counselled the king
 to invite him to Oxford, and then to proceed
 against, or, at least, to confine him. Charles, who
 was always too much under the influence of those
 about him,* wrote Sir Anthony a very obliging
 letter, desiring his attendance and advice ; but the
 letter being shown to the Marquis of Hertford,
 he, out of regard to Sir Anthony, and resentment
 that his friend and relation, and one who had
 been recommended by him, should be ill-treated
 for his loyal endeavours for the king's and the
 nation's welfare, immediately sent him notice of
 the letter and the court's intentions. Soon after
 the receipt of Lord Hertford's letter, Sir Anthony
 received the king's ; but being forewarned, and
 expecting no safety near the royal forces, he went
 suddenly and privately to London, where the
 parliament appointed a committee to receive and

Quits the
king's
party.

* Stringer.

A.D. 1643. examine him ; but he absolutely refused to make any discovery, either of persons, or the management of affairs, whilst he was at Oxford. In every part of his life he governed himself by this rule, “ That there is a general and tacit trust in conversation, whereby a man is obliged not to report anything to the speaker’s prejudice, though no intimation may be given of a desire not to have it spoken of again.”³³

His generous conduct with regard to Mr. Holles.

He gave, in 1645, a remarkable instance of his adherence to this just and generous sentiment, with regard to Mr. Holles. There had been, for

³³ This account of Sir Anthony’s secession from the king’s party differs very materially from that given by Clarendon and the other royalist historians. This version of the affair is derived, through Stringer’s MS. and Locke’s Memoirs, from Shaftesbury himself; and exhibits him, not as a sworn partisan of the king, deserting him from disgust at some personal slight, but as a sanguine youth, whose inexperience led him to imagine that he could effect by mediation what older and more influential men had attempted in vain. Such an assumption of independence must have been highly culpable in the eyes of the arbitrary Charles; and it is not surprising that he should attempt to impose force upon a man on whom he could so little depend. In this instance, as in so many others, the weakness and tyranny that made up the Stuart character converted a lukewarm friend into an active enemy. We must not, however, forget that this is Shaftesbury’s own account of the transaction; and the same impartiality that prevents our yielding implicit credence to Clarendon, should induce us to receive this with considerable hesitation.

some time, a family quarrel * between them ; A.D. 1643. which Mr. Holles had carried so far, that when Sir Anthony was chosen for Downton in Wilts, but not returned, Mr. Holles, by his interest, obstructed the hearing of his petition. In 1644, Mr. Holles had been joined with Mr. Pierpoint, Lord Wenman, and Mr. Whitlocke, as a committee from the house of commons, along with the Earl of Denbigh and Lord Maynard for the peers, and with three of the Scotch commissioners, to carry to the king at Oxford propositions of peace. In a visit which Mr. Holles and Mr. Whitlocke made one day to the Earl of Lindsey, they were surprised at the coming in of the king; who, after other conversation, desired them to write down what they thought would be a proper answer to the parliament's propositions. This they did; and Lord Saville, who was there, accused them afterwards to the commons for transacting separately with the king. The leaders of the independent party in the house being jealous of Mr. Holles, who was a man of great influence and strongly opposed to their designs, pushed on the inquiry against him with extreme

* Mr. Holles married the ruin Sir Anthony in the Court daughter of Sir Francis Ash- of Wards.
ley, who had endeavoured to

A.D. 1643. animosity ; but they wanted some witness who would give credit to their proceedings. As Mr. Holles's enmity to Sir Anthony was well known, they doubted not but Sir Anthony would readily embrace such an opportunity of avenging himself. He was accordingly summoned to the house, and examined whether he knew or had heard of Mr. Holles's having had any secret transactions with the king ; but he could not be induced to make the least discovery,³⁴ though he was threatened with being sent to the Tower for his contumacy. Mr. Holles was so sensibly affected with Sir Anthony's conduct, that he paid him a visit to express his gratitude ; but Sir Anthony said, that he lay under no obligation to him, for what he had done was out of regard to his own charac-

³⁴ He told them he could answer nothing at all ; for though, possibly, what he had to say would be to the clearing of Mr. Holles, yet he could not allow himself to say anything in the case, since, whatever answer he made, it would be a confession that if he had known anything to the disadvantage of Mr. Holles, he would have taken that dishonourable way of doing him a prejudice, and wreak his revenge on a man that was his enemy.—*Locke's Memoirs*. The reader will probably be inclined to admire Sir Anthony's conduct upon this occasion much more than the reasons by which he defended it. It is not to Lord Holles's honour that he omits all mention of this circumstance in his memoirs.

ter; though, if Mr. Holles should think him worthy of his friendship, as he knew his merit, he would with pleasure receive it. Mr. Holles was struck with this generosity and openness of behaviour; and from that time they lived in uninterrupted friendship.

This conduct of Sir Anthony towards Mr. Holles was a proof of that greatness of mind for which he was distinguished through every part of his life; and it is very remarkable that, amongst all the slanders with which venal or prejudiced writers have aspersed his character, no one has ever accused him of betraying any confidence which was reposed in him, even by those who were afterwards his enemies. Now, if it be considered how constantly he was engaged in intrigues of state, and how various those intrigues were, it cannot be doubted but that an after discovery would often have furnished him with abundant opportunity either of private advantage or revenge. If, therefore, he had been either covetous or vindictive, he would have been tempted to betray the secrets entrusted with him; or, if he had been of a fearful temper, he would have been terrified into doing so.

Though he laid himself under the restraint of

Remarks
on Sir An-
THONY'S
conduct.

A.D. 1643. never revealing anything to the prejudice of others, or betraying the secrets of conversation, no man was more observant * of the bias and turn of men's minds, or had a quicker insight into their views and designs.

* Mr. Locke says, "that he never knew any one penetrate so quick into men's breasts, and, from a small opening, survey that dark cabinet." He gives the following instance of Sir Anthony's penetration :

"Sir Richard Onslow and he were invited by Sir J. D. to dine with him at Chelsea, and desired to come early, because he had an affair of concernment to communicate to them. They came at the time, and being sat, he told them he had made choice of them both, for their known abilities, and their particular friendship to him, for their advice in a matter of the greatest moment to him that could be. He had, he said, been a widower for many years, and began to want somebody that might ease him of the trouble of housekeeping, and take some care of him under the growing infirmities of old age, and to that purpose had pitched upon a woman very well known to

him by the experience of many years; in fine, his house-keeper. These gentlemen, who were not strangers to his family, and knew the woman very well, and were, besides, very great friends to his son and daughter grown up and both fit for marriage, to whom they thought this would be a very prejudicial match, were both in their minds to oppose it; and, to that purpose, Sir Richard Onslow began the discourse; wherein, when he came to that part he was entering upon the description of the woman, and going to set her out in her own colours, which were such as could not have pleased any man in his wife, Sir Anthony, seeing whither he was going, to prevent any mischief, begged leave to interrupt him, by asking Sir J. a question; which, in short, was this, whether he were not already married? Sir J. after a little demur, answered, 'Yes truly, he was married the day

Sir Anthony entered with zeal into the service of the cause which he had now espoused, and his influence and ability soon procured for him considerable commands. On the 14th of August 1644, he was appointed, by the lords and com-

A.D. 1644.
Sir Anthony's transactions in the parliament's army.

before.' 'Well then,' replied Sir Anthony, 'there is no more need of our advice: pray let us have the honour to see my lady, and wish her joy; and so to dinner.' As they were returning to London in their coach, 'I am obliged to you,' said Sir Richard, 'for preventing my running into a discourse which could never have been forgiven me if I had spoke out what I was going to say. But, as for Sir J. he, methinks, ought to cut your throat for your civil question. How could it possibly enter into your head to ask a man who had solemnly invited us on purpose to have

our advice about a marriage he intended, had gravely proposed the woman to us, and suffered us seriously to enter into the debate, whether he was already married or no?' 'The man and the manner,' replied Sir Anthony, 'gave me a suspicion that, having done a foolish thing, he was desirous to cover himself with the authority of our advice. I thought it good to be sure before you went any farther, and you see what comes of it.' This afforded them entertainment till they came to town, and so they parted."—*Locke's Memoirs.*³⁵

³⁵ Mr. Locke gives another instance of Shaftesbury's acuteness in drawing conclusions from minute observation. Soon after the Restoration, he and the Earl of Southampton were dining with the Earl of Clarendon; the Lady Anne Hyde, who had been recently privately married to the Duke of York, was present. As Shaftesbury and Southampton were returning home together, the former remarked, "Yonder Mrs. Anne Hyde is certainly married to one of the brothers." Southampton,

A.D. 1644. mons, one of the committee of the county of Dorset, &c. for governing the army. He had the command of a brigade, consisting of Colonel Popham's and Colonel Cooke's regiments. At the head of these he marched to Wareham, and, furiously attacking one of the outworks, drove the enemy into the town. Intimidated by this onset, the royalists immediately surrendered, and Sir Anthony granted them terms, which showed how little inclined he was to severity. Three hundred of the garrison undertook to serve the parliament against the rebels in Ireland.

Takes
Wareham,

Corfe Castle.

Not long after, he was ordered by the parliament to draw together, out of the several garrisons, a sufficient number of horse and foot to blockade Corfe Castle, which he successfully per-

who was a confidential friend of the chancellor, but who was quite ignorant of the marriage, thought the idea absurd, and asked him how so wild a fancy could get into his head. "Assure yourself," replied Shaftesbury, "it is so; a concealed respect, however suppressed, showed itself so plainly in the looks, voice, and manner, wherewith her mother carved to her or offered her of every dish, that it is impossible but it must be so."

It would appear, from Mr. Locke's manner of telling this story, that he was present at the conversation. It is equally creditable to the earl's penetration, whether we attribute his knowledge to his own observation, or to the accuracy of his private information,—one of the first requisites to a statesman.

formed. Corfe soon surrendered, and received a A.D. 1644. strong garrison for the parliament; and, for the better preservation of the place, Sir Anthony threw a troop of horse, with a body of foot, into Lulworth.

On the 25th of October 1644, he was appointed commander-in-chief for the county of Dorset; and, with a brigade of horse and foot, which he drew out from the garrisons of Wareham, Poole, and Weymouth, he marched to Abbotsbury, a place at that time of importance, situated on the sea-coast. Upon his approach, Colonel Strangeways, who was governor of the town, and had a considerable force, garrisoned his house. Sir Anthony came before it at night, and sent a summons to the colonel, who returned a slighting answer; and the garrison hung out a bloody flag. A party of the garrison having entered into the church, which flanked the house, Sir Anthony ordered a body of musketeers to attack them. After a smart skirmish, they surrendered, and were all made prisoners. Then Sir Anthony sent a second summons, offering under his hand fair quarter to the garrison, which he declared they must not expect if they should oblige him to storm. They resolved to admit of His exploit
at Abbots-
bury.

A.D. 1644. no treaty, and added some expressions of contempt to the second answer. Upon this, Sir Anthony, who had only fire-arms and hand-granadoes, but no cannon for a regular siege, and who was desirous of intimidating other garrisons by the vigour of his proceedings, began to storm the house. The action was very hot during six hours, and he was forced to burn down an out-gate to a court before he could get up to the house. His men presently rushed through the fire close to the hall porch, and plied the windows so hard with their muskets, that the enemy durst not appear in the lower rooms; and whilst, with his scaling ladders and granadoes, he attacked the upper apartments, some of his troops wrenched open the windows of the lower with iron bars, and, by firing into it, the house was soon in a flame. He then offered the enemy quarter again, which they thought proper to accept. Notwithstanding the fire, his men immediately fell to plundering the house, and could not, either by commands or entreaties, be induced to leave it; though it was represented to them that the enemy's magazine was near the fire, and, if they stayed, would prove their destruction. It happened so soon afterwards; for the powder taking

fire, blew up all who were in the house, and, by A.D. 1644. the violence of its explosion, threw up fourscore, who were in the court, some distance from the ground; but of these only two were much hurt. He lost but fifteen men in the action, and above sixty by this accident; among others, Captain Heathcock, and two or three officers, who were sent into the house to get out the soldiers. The house was burnt, notwithstanding all Sir Anthony's endeavours to the contrary. Colonel Strangeways, the major, and three captains of his regiment, were taken prisoners, with about one hundred foot and thirty horse. Sir Anthony sent a letter to the committee of parliament, to acquaint them with his success. He gave great encomiums to the several officers under him, and particularly to some who went as volunteers. From hence he marched to Dorchester, to refresh his men, who were fatigued with the action. But his active temper not allowing him to continue idle, he successfully attacked the remaining garrisons in Dorsetshire, and reduced them to an obedience to the parliament.

Sir Anthony, after this, marched to the relief of Taunton town and castle, where Blake, (whose name became afterwards so illustrious as an ad-

Relieves
Taunton.

A.D. 1644.

miral,) was governor. Blake had held it out with great obstinacy and success, notwithstanding the great want of ammunition and provisions, and the weakness of the works. Colonel Wyndham commanded the siege, and Sir Lewis Dives was marching with a considerable force to support him; but Sir Anthony meeting this body, attacked and routed it, obliged the colonel to raise the siege, and immediately acquainted the parliament with the relief of the town.³⁶

Quits his
military
employ-
ments.

Sir Anthony acted not long in a military capacity; and as he accepted these employments with no view to private advantage, but from a sense of honour and the impulse of his courage, he was guilty of no oppressions on the people of the country or those under his command. He was beloved by the soldiers, and respected by the officers. These were so far from being jealous or envious of him, that though he was so young, and had so lately entered into the service, yet the colonels of those regiments under his command were afterwards much attached to him; and one of them, Colonel Popham, went with him through

³⁶ It appears from Whitlocke that Sir Anthony had in this expedition fifteen hundred men under his command.

most of his after attempts to bring about the A.D. 1644.
Restoration.

In the year 1645,³⁷ he was made high sheriff of A.D. 1645.
the county of Norfolk,³⁸ and in the following year
high sheriff of the county of Wilts, with a parti-
cular ordinance of parliament for liberty to reside
in Dorsetshire,* where he lived in retirement,
acting only as a justice of peace; in which office,
so useful at a time when such animosities pre-
vailed, he was of great service to the county, as
he was an active magistrate.

About this time, affairs bore a different appear- A.D. 1644.
ance from what they had done at the beginning Rise of the
of the parliament, and were under other guidance. Independ-
ents.

* Whitlocke.

³⁷ At this time Whitlocke says of him: "he professed his great affection to the parliament, and his enmity to the king's party, from whom he had revolted, and was now in great favour and trust with the parliament." This was probably a formal declaration upon receiving some appointment.

³⁸ This is an error: Sir Anthony never was sheriff of Norfolk. Sir Jacob Astley held the office during this year, and hence probably has arisen the mistake; neither was he ever sheriff of Dorsetshire. He has been often spoken of as sheriff of that county, but the rolls of Dorsetshire do not contain his name. These mistakes have been corrected by a note in Kippis's *Bio-graphia Britannica*, tit. Cooper, which article appeared after the Doctor had completed his labours upon this work.

A.D. 1644. A new set of men had obtained influence in the house of commons, and their views seemed to be not so much a restoration or improvement of the constitution, as a total change of it. The former leading members of the parliament, such as the Earls of Essex, Bedford, and Manchester, among the lords; Hampden, Pym, Holles, and others, in the house of commons, had very sincere intentions and extensive views for the public good. They had begun the opposition on account of the grievances that were introduced and supported by the court, and they had prosecuted a redress of these with great steadiness. When the civil war broke out, many of them maintained by the sword those rights and liberties which they had avowed and supported in parliament. Some of the principal members of the commons, particularly Hampden and Pym, died in the beginning of the war; others, who grew weary of the service, retired into their several counties. In their room a new party had been growing up; these were the Independents, who had all the fire of enthusiasm, who were more determined in their measures, and therefore more constant in their attendance. As they were bent on pushing things to an extremity between the king and the parliament, they re-

solved to lay aside the Earls of Essex, Bedford,
and others, who had the command of the army,
and were desirous of an accommodation. For this
purpose they contrived what was called the self-
denying ordinance, by which no member of either
house of parliament could, during the war, enjoy
or execute any office or command, civil or military.
This was strongly opposed by Mr. Holles, Sir
Philip Stapleton, and others of the Presbyterian
party; and as strenuously supported by Sir Henry
Vane, Oliver Cromwell, and the rest of the Independents.
Cromwell, who was both a member of
the house of commons and lieutenant-general of
the army, was the principal contriver of it; and
had at that time formed a scheme for raising
himself, which he afterwards carried on with won-
derful success, and to a greater extent than he
had probably at first designed. In pursuance of
this ordinance, the Earls of Essex, Denbigh,
and Manchester, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip
Stapleton, and others, resigned their commissions;
and Sir Thomas Fairfax, a man of great bravery
and conduct, of rigid honour in his principles,
but of too easy a temper, was made general of
all the parliament's forces. Cromwell went down
into the west just before the former officers sur-

Self-denying ordinance.

A.D.
1644-5.

A.D. 1645. rendered their commissions, and so influenced Fairfax, that he wrote to the parliament, representing the necessity of continuing Cromwell in his commands; to which, by several ordinances from time to time, they assented. Cromwell, in the name of Fairfax, new modelled the army; which, by putting in officers who were known only to himself, he entirely governed. This army carried on the war against the king with greater vigour and with superior success, until he was at last so much reduced, his forces being routed in almost every engagement, and the chief of his garrisons having surrendered, that he made his escape privately from Oxford, and threw himself into the hands of the Scotch army at Newark.

A.D. 1646. The Scotch were then in possession of Newcastle, Carlisle, and other English garrisons; but they agreed to deliver up these, and likewise the king, to the parliament, upon the payment of a considerable sum of money. The parliament, soon after the agreement, sent commissioners to the Scotch army to receive the king; who was conducted, under a safe guard, to Holmby House in Northamptonshire. After this, the English army, having no enemies to encounter, and being elated with success, began to grow mutinous; forgetting

The Scotch
deliver up
the king.

Conduct of
the army.

their masters, who raised them, and the principles A.D. 1646. for which they had fought so long. Absolutely under the influence of Cromwell, they became subservient to all his ambitious designs; and assumed the boldness to petition against, and censure, not only the measures of the parliament, but even any individual members whom he pointed out to their dislike. They established a council of officers to superintend the affairs of the army; which officers were some of Cromwell's principal confidants and agents. This step made his intentions very evident, and alarmed those members of the house of commons who had the welfare of their country still in view, and courage to pursue it. Among these, Mr. Holles was one of the most eminent; he foresaw the coming danger, and determined to resist it while it might yet be withstood. He formed a resolution to attack Cromwell publicly in the house of commons. This design he communicated to his friend Sir Anthony, who attempted in vain to dissuade him from his purpose. His profound knowledge of the state of affairs, and the relative strength of parties, appears from the following account of this transaction, as given by Mr. Locke.*

Cromwell's designs.

* Locke's Memoirs relating to Lord Shaftesbury.

A.D. 1647.

Sir Anthony's
advice with
regard to
Cromwell.

From the time of the reconciliation of Sir Anthony and Mr. Holles, they had been very hearty friends. “It happened one morning that Sir Anthony calling upon Mr. Holles, as he often did, he found him in a great heat against Cromwell, who then had the command of the army, and a great interest in it. The provocation may be read at large in the pamphlets of that time, for which Mr. Holles was resolved,* he said, to bring him to punishment. Sir Anthony dissuaded him, all he could, from any such attempt, showing him the danger of it; and told him it would be sufficient to remove him out of the way, by sending him with a command into Ireland. This, Cromwell, as things stood, would be glad to accept; but this would not satisfy Mr. Holles. When he came to the house, the matter was brought into debate; and it was moved that Cromwell, and those guilty with him, should be punished. Cromwell, who was in the house, no sooner heard of it but he stole out, took horse, and rode immediately to the army, which, as I remember, was at Triploe Heath. There he acquainted them what the

* Lord Clarendon takes notice of this design against Cromwell, but says that Cromwell hearing of it, made his

escape to the army the next morning, without going to the house.

Presbyterian party was doing in the house ; and made such use of it to them, that they, who were before in the power of the parliament, now united together under Cromwell, who immediately led them away to London, giving out menaces against Holles and his party as they marched, who, with Stapleton and some others, were forced to fly ; and thereby the Independent party becoming the stronger, they, as they called it, purged the house, and turned out all the Presbyterian party. Cromwell some time after, meeting Sir Anthony, told him, ‘ I am beholden to you for your kindness to me ; for you, I hear, were for letting me go without punishment ; but your friend, God be thanked ! was not wise enough to take your advice.’ ”

If this advice of Sir Anthony’s had been followed, it might probably have contributed to the settling of the nation, and have prevented the fatal catastrophe of the king’s death. For immediately upon Cromwell’s going to the army, Cornet Joyce went with a party of horse, took the king away by force from the commissioners appointed by the parliament to attend him, and carried him to the army ; which was done without the knowledge of Fairfax (as he acquainted the parliament),

The king
carried to
the army.

A.D. 1647. and plainly by the direction and artifice of Cromwell.

Insolent
proceedings
of the army.

Cromwell, while with the army, neglected no means to inflame them; and they, when they had the king in their power, became more violent in their conduct. A resolution had been taken in the house of commons to disband them, which might perhaps have been effected if Cromwell had been sent into Ireland. To prevent this, the army sent a petition to the parliament, couched in high terms, against their disbanding; and, to support their petition, they marched directly to St. Albans in their way towards London. In order to remove those who were most capable of obstructing them, and to intimidate others who might not be well disposed towards them, some officers were appointed to present to the commons, in the name and behalf of the army, an impeachment against Mr. Holles and ten other members, who were the spirit and support of the Presbyterian party in the house. These gentlemen immediately withdrew, and several of them retired into foreign countries.

A.D. 1648.
The king
tried and
executed.

The parliament being thus under the command of the army, and consequently under the influence of Cromwell, soon proceeded to the trial and

execution of the king ; who, during his confinement and at his death, behaved with great magnanimity.

After this, Cromwell was appointed by the parliament commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, a promotion which was highly pleasing to him ; and his success there was great, and equal to his conduct. In the year 1650, on Fairfax's resigning his commission, he was made general of all the forces in England and Ireland.

In the month of June, King Charles the Second arrived in Scotland, where he had been proclaimed by the parliament of that kingdom. He applied himself chiefly to the Marquis of Argyle, who had the greatest influence and credit. To gain his esteem he put on an appearance of devotion, and by his advice he for some time regulated his conduct. He gave a promise under his hand and seal to make him a duke, a knight of the garter, and one of his bed-chamber; as likewise to be influenced by his counsels ; and that, when restored to his just rights, he would pay to the marquis forty thousand pounds,* which was

A.D. 1648.
Commands
conferred
upon Crom-
well.

A.D. 1650.

Charles the
Second's
arrival in
Scotland.

* The marquis, soon after having acted with Cromwell the Restoration, was tried, and the parliament. condemned, and executed, for

A.D. 1650. due to him. Great part of this money had been lent to the king, and the rest expended in his service. It was principally by the marquis's assistance, (after Cromwell's victory at Dunbar, September the 3rd, 1650,) that the army was raised with which the king marched to Worcester, where he met with a total defeat.

His compliances there.

Whilst the king was in Scotland, to ingratiate himself with the kirk, he complied with all their fanatical proposals; and even took the covenant, which was rudely pressed upon him. This gave such jealousy to the high church party in England, that they forgot their principle of the divine right of sovereigns, and offered, by Dr. Morley, their interest to the Duke of York to place him on the throne of England in the room of his brother.

The king's compliance with the covenanters was, however, only for a short time; and when he left Scotland he quitted presbytery, and conceived a greater aversion to the professors of it from the severity of the discipline to which he had been compelled to submit.

A.D. 1651.
Sir Anthony secured
as a delinquent.

The parliament, after the battle at Worcester, having some jealousy of Sir Anthony, (who had openly declared his dislike to their proceedings

and violent measures,) secured him as a delinquent; and he continued some time under their displeasure, till they found themselves in danger of being dispossessed of their power and government by the general. Things being in this situation, in order to gain his friendship, (as it was known that there was a misunderstanding between Cromwell and him, who saw early that the designs of Cromwell were to raise the power of the army, and himself by their means,) on the 17th of March 1652, it was resolved by the house that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper should be pardoned of all delinquency. A.D. 1652.

Soon after this, Cromwell, being flushed with success, gave a loose to his ambition. In the most arbitrary manner, and in the most insolent terms, he suspended the very being of the parliament, and assumed to himself the administration of government. When he had obtained this, he knew he must be supported in it by men of spirit and abilities; and he endeavoured to secure in his service and interest such as were distinguished for them. Among others, he applied himself to Sir Anthony, and in so open a manner, that it was reported he would make him lord chancellor; but Sir Anthony was steady against all his arts and

Cromwell's
arbitrary
conduct.

Endeavours
to gain
over Sir
Anthony.

A.D. 1652. caresses, and never * accepted of any employment under him.

Sir Antho-
ny's con-
duct in the
convention
of 1653 ;

Cromwell summoned a convention to meet on the 4th of July 1653, in which Sir Anthony was nominated for the county of Wilts; and, during the time of its sitting, he watched every opportunity to expose Cromwell's designs of enslaving his country by this establishment. Sir Anthony well knew that the most effectual method of establishing an arbitrary power in any nation where a sense of liberty prevailed, must be by retaining the old forms of government and a shadow of the ancient constitution; by which the people would insensibly lose the spirit of freedom, and rivet their own chains. Observing the several turns and inclinations of the members, he confounded the proposals and debates of Oliver's creatures. By his address he soon gained such an interest in this pretended parliament, that he prevented Cromwell's intentions of rendering it subservient to his greatness; and, on the 12th of

* Through the whole collection of Secretary Thurloe's papers, which take in almost all the material transactions and the principal men in office under the protectorate, there

is no mention made of Sir Anthony but in two letters, wherein he is suspected among others to be well affected to the king, and to have remitted money to him.

December, he procured a motion to be made, that ^{A.D. 1653.} the sitting of that parliament any longer, would not be for the good of the commonwealth. This motion was powerfully supported by himself and several other members, and carried in the affirmative. Upon the dissolution of this convention, Cromwell assumed the protectorship. He called another parliament, to sit on the 3rd of September 1654; and as Sir Anthony, by the steps which he ^{A.D. 1654} had taken, was highly obnoxious to him, Cromwell sent secret directions to prevent his being returned at the next election. Sir Anthony however was, notwithstanding these instructions, elected for the county of Wilts.

When Cromwell was first invested with the protectorship, he made it his study, as it was his interest, to soften the violence of his proceedings by all the arts of popularity. To make the public therefore believe that they would be governed by their own representatives, he took an oath and subscribed an instrument, of which one of the articles was, "That the parliament then to be chosen, and all succeeding parliaments, were to sit five months from the time of their meeting." Another article declared in what proportion the members should be chosen. They were to be

A.D. 1654. principally elected from the counties ; a regulation well adapted for the security of the constitution, inasmuch as it rendered the election of members more general and more equal, and provided against the venality and dependence of boroughs. The good effects of it appeared at that time ; many of the most considerable gentlemen of their respective counties being returned for members. Sir Anthony exerted himself as vigorously as before, and with such success that the power and authority of the protector and his new government began to be called in question.³⁸ The debates ran so high that Cromwell, being apprehensive his power would be overthrown, went to the house, and at the close of a long speech the members were required to sign a recognition in these words, viz.

“ I, A. B. do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protec-

³⁸ A division had taken place, whether the house should resolve itself into committee upon the instrument of government proposed to them by Cromwell, or whether it should be at once approved. The protector's creatures were for the latter proposition, but they were defeated by a majority of five, the numbers being 141 against 136. A defeat that drew from Cromwell this proof of his extraordinary tenderness for the privileges of an English parliament.

tor, and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, A.D. 1654. and Ireland ; and shall not (according to the tenour of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament) propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one single person and a parliament.”

This being engrossed, was placed upon a table near the door of the house of commons, where no members were allowed to enter until they had signed it ; which was a great breach of the new constitution, and plainly indicated Cromwell’s disposition, and on what foundation he intended to build his government. The speaker and about one hundred and thirty of the members signed it the first day, and others the second ;³⁹ but Sir Anthony refusing, he was excluded. The resolution of the excluded members so influenced those who were admitted, that, notwithstanding the recognition, Cromwell found the parliament would not come into his measures ; and, therefore, neither his instrument of government nor oath could

³⁹ About one hundred and ninety members signed it upon this day, but that was in consequence of the liberal construction which had been put upon this document by a vote of the hundred and thirty who were already assembled.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. col. 1459.

A. D.
1654-5.

keep him from dissolving it on the 22nd of January 1654-5, before the five months they were to sit were expired.

Parliament dissolved.

Plot against Cromwell defeated.

The dissolution caused such a general discontent, that he sat very loose in his protectorship; and had probably been removed, if a plot, contrived between the king's party and the Levellers, had not been discovered, as it was, by one Manning, who attended the king at Cologne; which discovery enabled Cromwell to surprise the conspirators at their first rising, and prevent their gathering into considerable bodies. Several persons, as Penruddock, Grove, Lucas, and others were executed; and (as is the case in all plots that are premature and unsuccessful) this fixed Cromwell so firmly in his station that he could not easily be shaken.

Cromwell courts Sir Anthony.

Cromwell tried many ways to gain Sir Anthony to his interest, but without success. He named him one of his council; yet Sir Anthony never appeared or acted in it; and, as he behaved in private with the utmost circumspection, Cromwell, speaking to his friends, used to say, there was no one he was more at a loss how to manage than that Marcus Tullius Cicero, the little man with three names. But, though Sir Anthony was so reserved in his conduct toward the protector, he lived

in great friendship with his second son, Henry Cromwell, who, when deputy of Ireland, gained a general esteem.

A.D.
1654-5.

On the 17th of September 1656, another parliament met, in which Sir Anthony was again chosen. After hearing a sermon at the Abbey church at Westminster, and the protector's speech in the Painted Chamber, the members repaired to the house of commons; where they found the lobby filled with soldiers, and an officer at the door, with a list in his hand, refusing entrance to all that had not a certificate* of approbation.⁴⁰

A.D. 1656.
Another
parliament.

* These are to certify, that _____ is returned by indenture one of the knights to serve in this present parliament for the said county, and

approved by his highness's council, 17th September 1656.

NATH. TAYLOR,
Clerk of the Commonwealth
in Chancery.

⁴⁰ The conduct of this parliament is pregnant with proof that the enthusiasm in favour of liberty, which once pervaded the people, was now worn away by the long and exhausting series of civil wars. An act of undisguised tyranny, that would have armed the whole nation against Charles, was submitted to in silence. So completely was the spirit of the commons tamed, that, after some discussion, they resolved by one hundred and twenty-five against a minority of only twenty-nine, "That the persons returned from the several counties, cities, and boroughs, who have not been approved, be referred to make their application to the council for approbation; and that the House do proceed with the great affairs of the nation." Such was the liberty England enjoyed under Cromwell.

A.D. 1656. Sir Anthony, with the other excluded members, (finding no redress from the house,) drew up a protestation * by way of appeal to God and the people, “ declaring the great dangers they were in from the slavery, rapines, oppressions, cruelties, murders, and confusions comprehended in the horrid act of the protector, who had now openly assumed a power to pack an assembly of his confidents, parasites, and confederates, and called them a parliament, that he might thence pretend that the people had consented to become his slaves, and to have their persons and estates at his discretion.” This remonstrance, after they had subscribed their names, they printed and published.⁴¹

* Whitlocke's Memoirs, fol. 640.

⁴¹ Mr. Brodie remarks: “ It affords a noble proof of the spirit of Englishmen, that even this measure (that of referring the secluded members to the council) was only carried by a majority ; and that sixty members instantly absented themselves, and joined those who had been excluded when they published a remonstrance against the present arbitrary government, and a protestation against the illegal assembly at Westminster.”—*British Empire*, vol. iv. p. 402. This passage is totally at variance with the authorities he quotes in support of it. The remonstrance came from the secluded members alone, and was not signed by even the whole of these, as appears from the Thurloe papers. Instead of the measure being carried by only a majority, it was carried by a majority of three to one. There appears

The members who were admitted, being well modelled for Cromwell's designs, resolved in the first place to fix the crown on his head; but that was highly resented by the army, who had fought so long against the very name and office of a king, and especially by some of the superior officers, who perhaps had a view to succeed Cromwell in his power. He did not dare, therefore, to indulge his inclinations and accept the crown. Cromwell's junto afterwards framed another instrument of government, by the name of "the humble petition and advice of the knights, citizens, and burgesses assembled in the parliament of the commonwealth," whereby they confirmed to him the name and style of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto

A.D. 1656.
A design to
make Crom-
well king.

A.D. 1657.

to have been more indolence than indignation in the conduct of the other members, since, when a resolution was passed, that all persons who had been returned to serve in that parliament and had been or might be approved by the council, should give their attendance within seven days, the order was not disobeyed. I am afraid Mr. Brodie is unwilling to admit the extent of Cromwell's tyranny. But such an admission is far more worthy of the cause of freedom than any attempt at concealment. The justification of those who first took arms against Charles can receive no injury from truth, and no colouring can justify the fanatics who beheaded him.

A.D. 1657. belonging, (into which office he was inaugurated with great solemnity the 26th day of June 1657); and he was also thereby empowered to declare and appoint who should succeed him in that office after his death.

Bishop
Burnet's
mistakes
corrected.

It is apparent, from the exclusion of Sir Anthony from the parliament, and from the attempt that was immediately afterwards made by the remainder of the commons to place Cromwell upon the throne, that there can be no foundation for what Bishop Burnet says of Sir Anthony, “that he advised Cromwell to take the kingship.” The excluded members were of course those who Cromwell thought would oppose this last flight of his ambition; and although the bishop says that Sir Anthony gave the advice with a design to destroy him, yet this does not make his story more probable, for, as this design must have been unknown to Cromwell, he would not surely have excluded the man who gave him the advice, and who, by his abilities and power of speaking, might have contributed greatly to the success of his project.

It is very probable, likewise, that if Sir Anthony had made such a proposal to Cromwell, Cromwell

A.D. 1657.

would, in return, have made him one of his newly created house of peers ; for, though many of them were men of low extraction, education, and capacities, yet, to give a dignity to the body, he added several of the old lords and gentlemen of the greatest fortunes and character. Now, as Sir Anthony was distinguished for both, Cromwell would not have omitted him ; though, at the same time, it may reasonably be believed, from his conduct in other respects, that if Sir Anthony had been nominated, he would have disdained a seat amongst them.

There appears as little foundation for another story of the bishop's; that Sir Anthony pretended that Cromwell offered to make him king. Cromwell was too fond of power, and too wise, to make a proposal of this nature in earnest to a man of spirit and understanding ; and there is as little probability that he would make the proposal in jest to a person so conspicuous for his penetration. That Cromwell ever seriously made such an offer is beyond the bounds of probability, and it is scarcely less improbable, that a man of Sir Anthony's acknowledged sense should expose himself to ridicule by indulging in what every one must have discovered

A.D. 1657. to be an absurd boast.⁴² For this assertion the bishop does not quote any authority; and it is surprising that neither Mr. Locke nor Mr. Stringer (who have both left some account of Lord Shaftesbury) should have taken the least notice of so extraordinary a circumstance, especially if what the bishop says of him be true, viz. "that he had such an extravagant vanity in setting himself out, as made him very disagreeable :" which observation, likewise, does not seem consistent with the other parts of his character.

A.D. 1658.
Cromwell's
death and
character.

On the 3rd of September 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, and soon after him died that power which his vigour alone had supported. He had an active courage, an extensive mind, and an unbounded ambition. He was sagacious in forming, artful in conducting, and steady in executing his schemes. To a profound dissimulation, he added an extraordinary knowledge of mankind. He was zealous

⁴² It does appear that Burnet has drawn the character of Shaftesbury somewhat unfairly. The bishop for some time enjoyed his intimacy ; and the earl, who was ambitious of shining in conversation, often made remarks which were rather brilliant than judicious. From these light sallies of an unguarded moment Burnet seems to have sketched those darker features which predominate in his portrait of his former friend.

for the honour of England abroad, where he raised it to a great height; but an enemy to her liberties at home, where he entirely depressed them. He sought out and employed men of abilities, as the sinews of his government. Having acquired this by art and by the sword, he maintained it by the same means, and broke through the laws wherever they interfered with his will. To his power all his views were directed, all his principles were sacrificed, all his passions were subservient; and to this were the three kingdoms, at length, entirely subjected.

A.D. 1658.

CHAPTER VI.

The conduct of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper in public affairs from the death of Oliver Cromwell to the Restoration ; and a particular account of the concern which he had in bringing about that event.

A.D. 1658.

Richard
Cromwell
succeeds his
father.

Sir An-
THONY'S
views.

OLIVER CROMWELL left the protectorship to his son Richard, who, being destitute of his father's abilities, could not long support it. The consequence of this was, that the government fell into great confusions, and in a short time underwent a variety of changes. In the midst of these, every man who was a well-wisher to the royal family conceived hopes of the Restoration ; and Sir Anthony, always watchful for advantages, and ever active to improve them, was in many consultations with those who had the greatest power and interest to bring it about : and, as he had always kept this in his view, it will appear that he was the principal person by whom it was effected. He thought that to divide the counsels of the government in being would be the surest method of destroying it, and of opening the door to a

restoration; and, therefore, he soon paved the way for this division. A.D. 1658.

Richard Cromwell, upon his father's death, was in a very solemn manner proclaimed protector in London and Westminster, and afterwards in most of the chief cities and towns in England: the city of London appeared very zealous; the army and navy congratulated him, and assured him of their fidelity; addresses were brought up from most of the counties in England; and compliments of condolence and congratulations were sent to him from several foreign princes, with offers of renewing their alliances. These things flattered Richard with an opinion of his security in his high station, and gave a melancholy prospect to the friends of the royal family. He called a parliament, which met January the 27th, 1658-9, the upper house consisting of the same persons whom his father had constituted his house of lords. Sir Anthony, being chosen a member of this parliament, raised and fomented, by his address, a disunion among the members in the lower house, a contempt of the upper house, and a repugnance to the protectorate; which made it impracticable to settle Richard's government by their means. The house of commons fell into

Flattering
situation of
Richard's
affairs.

New par-
liament.

A.D. 1658. great heats upon the establishing of the house of peers. Lord Clarendon says, that “upon this argument they exercised themselves with great licence, as well upon the creator of those peers, and power of the late protector, as upon his creatures the peers ; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the quality they had been of, not that which they were now grown to. They put the house in mind how grievous it had been to the kingdom that the bishops had sate in the house of peers, because they were looked upon as so many votes for the king ; which was a reason much stronger against these persons, who were all the work of the protector’s own hand, and therefore could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his interest.”

Remarkable speech
of Sir An-
THONY.

Lord Clarendon probably made this remark in consequence of the following excellent speech of Sir Anthony’s, which is here inserted at length, as it discovers the vivacity of his wit and the freedom of his spirit, and was attended with extraordinary consequences. The reader will observe, by some little inaccuracies, and the repetition of the words “to conclude,” that it was not a studied speech ; and that Sir Anthony was carried

on, by the warmth of his imagination, to a length than he intended.

“MR. SPEAKER,

“This day’s debate is but too clear a proof that we Englishmen are right islanders; variable and mutable, like the air we live in: for, sir, if that were not our temper, we should not be now disputing whether, after all those hazards we have run, that blood we have spilt, that treasure we have exhausted, we should not now sit down just where we did begin, and of our own accords submit ourselves to that slavery which we have not only ventured our estates and lives, but, I wish I could not say, our souls and consciences, to throw off. What others, sir, think of this levity, I cannot tell. I mean those who steer their consciences by occasions, and cannot lose the honour they never had: but truly, sir, for my own part, I dare freely declare it to be my opinion, that we are this day making good all the reproaches of our enemies, owning ourselves oppressors, murderers, regicides, subvertors of that which we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful government, but, by recalling it, confess it now, to be the best: which, sir, if it be true, and that

A.D. 1658. we now begin to see aright, I heartily wish our eyes had been sooner open ; and, for three nations' sake, that we had purchased our conviction at a cheaper rate. We might, sir, in forty-two have been what we thus contend to be in fifty-nine ; and our consciences would have had much less to answer for to God, and our reputations to the world.

“ But, Mr. Speaker, I wish with all my soul I did state the case to you amiss ; and that it were the question, whether we would voluntarily relapse into the disease we were formerly possessed of, and of our own accords take up our old yoke, that we with wearing and custom had made habitual and easy, and which (it may be) was more our wantonness than our pressure, that made us throw it off. But this, sir, is not now the question : that which we deliberate is not whether we will say, we do not care to be free, we like our old masters, and will be content to have our ears bored at the door-post of their house, and to serve them for ever ; but, sir, as if we were contending for shame as well as servitude, we are carrying our ears to be bored at the doors of ANOTHER HOUSE ; an house, sir, without a name, and therefore it is but congruous it

should consist of members without family ; an A.D. 1658. house that inverts the order of slavery, and subjects us to our servants ; and yet, in contradiction to scripture, we do not only not think that subjection INTOLERABLE, but are now pleading for it. In a word, sir, it is a house of so incongruous and odious a composition and mixture, that certainly the grand architect would never have so framed it, had it not been his design, as well to show the world the contempt he had of us, as to demonstrate the power he had over us.

“ Sir, that it may appear I intend not to be so prudent (as far as my part is concerned) to make a voluntary resignation of my liberty and honour to this excellent part of his highness’s last will and testament, I shall crave leave to declare, in a few particulars, my opinion of this other house ; wherein I cannot but promise myself to be favourably heard by some, and patiently heard by all : for those Englishmen who are against that house will certainly with content hear the reasons why others are so too ; those courtiers who are for it, give me evidence enough to think that in nature there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

“ First, sir, as to the author and framer of THE

A.D. 1658. HOUSE of peers; let me put you in mind it was he who, with reiterated oaths, had often sworn to be true and faithful to the government without it; and not only sworn so himself, but had been the chief instrument both to draw and compel others to swear so too. So, sir, the foundation of that noble structure was laid in perjury, and was begun with the violation and contempt as well of the laws of God as of the nation. He who called monarchy anti-christian in another, and, indeed, made it so himself; he who voted a house of lords dangerous and unnecessary, and too truly made it so in his partisans; he who with fraud and force deprived you of your liberty when living, and entailed slavery on you at his death: it is he, sir, who has left you these worthy overseers of that his last will and testament; who, however they have behaved themselves in other trusts, we may be confident will faithfully endeavour to discharge themselves in this. In a word, had that other house no other fault but its constitution and author, I should think that original sin enough for its condemnation: for I am of their opinion who think that, for the good of example, all acts and monuments of tyrants are to be expunged and erased; that (if possible) their

memory may be no longer-lived than their car- A.D. 1658.

casses ; and the truth is, their good laws are but snares for our liberty. But to impute to that other house no faults but its own, you may please in the first place to consider of the power which his highness hath left it, according to that ‘ humble petition and advice,’ which he was pleased to give order the parliament should present to him. For as the Romans had kings, his highness had ‘ parliaments amongst his instruments of slavery ;’ and I hope it will be no offence for me to pray that his son may not have so too. But, sir, they have a negative voice, and all other circumstances of that arbitrary power which made the former house intolerable ; only the dignity and quality of the persons are wanting, that our slavery may be accompanied with ignominy and affront. And now, Mr. Speaker, have we not gloriously vindicated the nation’s liberty ; have we not worthily employed our blood and treasure to abolish that power which was set over us by law, to have the same imposed upon us without law ? And after all that sound and noise we have made in the world, of the people’s legislative power, and of the supremacy and omnipotency of their representatives, we now see there is no more power

A.D. 1658. left them but what is put into the balance, and equalled by the power of a few retainers of tyranny, who are so far from being the people's choice, that the most part of them are only known to the nation by the mischiefs they have committed in it.

“ In the next place, sir, you may please to consider that the persons invested with that power are all of them nominated by the lord protector, (for to say by him and his council, has in effect no more distinction than if one should say by Oliver and Cromwell). By that means, the protector himself, by his own and by his peers' negative, may become in effect two of the three estates; and, by consequence, is possessed of two parts of the legislative power. I think this can be a doubt to no one who will but take the pains to read over the catalogue of those noble lords; for certainly no man who reads their names can possibly fancy for what virtues or good qualities such a composition should be made choice of, but only the certainty of their compliance with whatsoever shall be enjoined them by their creator. Pardon, sir, that name, for it is properly applicable where things are made out of nothing. If, in the former government, increase of nobility

was a grievance, because the new nobility, having A.D. 1658. fresh obligations to the crown, were more easily led into compliance with it; and if one of the main reasons for exclusion of bishops out of the house of lords was because they were of the king's making, and were, in effect, so many certain votes for whatever he had a mind to carry in the house; how much more assured will that inconvenience now be, when the protector, who wants nothing of the king but (in every sense) the title, shall not only make and nominate a part, but of himself constitute the whole? In a word, sir, if our liberty was endangered by the former house, we may give it up for lost in the other house: and it is in all respects as secure and advantageous for the liberty of the nation, which we come hither to redeem, to allow this power to his highness's officers and chaplains, as to his other creatures and partisans in this other house.

“ Now, having considered, sir, their author, power, and constitution, give me leave to make some few observations (though but in general) on the persons themselves who are designed to be our lords and masters; and let us see what either the extraordinary quality or qualifications are of

A.D. 1658. these egregious legislators, which may justify their choice, and prevail with the people to admit them at least into equal authority with the whole representative body of themselves. But what I shall speak of their quality, or anything else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with distinction, and to intend only of the major part ; for I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the mixture of the other house to be like the composition of apothecaries, who mix something grateful to the taste to qualify their bitter drugs, which else, perhaps, would be immediately spit out and never swallowed. So, sir, his highness, of deplorable memory to this nation, to countenance as well the want of quality as honesty in the rest, has nominated some against whom there lies no other reproach but only that nomination ; but not out of any respect to their quality or regard to their virtues, but out of regard to the no quality, the no virtues of the rest ; which truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express name to this other house than he hath been pleased to do ; for we know a house designed for beggars and malefactors is a house of correction, and so termed by our law : but, Mr. Speaker, setting those few persons aside,

who (I hope) think the nomination a disgrace, A.D. 1658. and their ever coming to sit there a much greater, can we without indignation think of the rest? He who is first in their roll, a condemned coward; one that out of fear and baseness did once what he could to betray our liberties, and now does the same for gain. The second, a person of as little sense as honesty; preferred for no other reason but his no worth, his no conscience; except cheating his father of all he had was thought a virtue by him, who, by sad experience we find, hath done as much for his mother,—his country. The third, a cavalier, a presbyterian, an independent; for the republic, for a protector, for everything, for nothing, but only that one thing,—money. It were endless, sir, to run through them all; to tell you of the lordships of seventeen pounds a-year land of inheritance; of the farmer lordships, draymen lordships, cobbler lordships, without one foot of land but what the blood of Englishmen have been the price of. These, sir, are to be our rulers, these the judges of our lives and fortunes; to these we are to stand bare whilst their pageant lordships deign to give us a conference on their breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much experience how insup-

A.D. 1658. portable servants are when they become our masters. All kinds of slavery are miserable in the account of generous minds ; but that which comes accompanied with scorn and contempt stirs up every man's indignation, and is endured by none whom nature does not intend for slaves, as well as fortune.

“ I say not this, Mr. Speaker, to revile any man with his meanness ; for I never thought either the malignity or indulgence of fortune to be (with wise or just men) the grounds either of their good or ill opinion. Mr. Speaker, I blame not in these men the faults of their fortune any otherwise than as they make them their own : I object to you their poverty, because it is accompanied with ambition ; I remind you of their quality, because they themselves forget it : it is not the men I am angry with, but their lordships. Sir, though we easily grant poverty and necessity to be no faults, yet we must allow them to be great impediments in the way of honour, and such as nothing but extraordinary merit and virtue can remove. The scripture reckons it amongst Jeroboam’s great faults, ‘ that he made priests of the meanest of the people : ’ and sure it was none of the virtues of our Jeroboam (who hath set up his

calves too, and would have our tribes come up A.D. 1658.
and worship them) that he observed the same
method in making lords.

“ One of the few requests the Portuguese made to Philip the Second, King of Spain, when he got that kingdom (as his late highness did this) by an army, was, that he would not make nobility contemptible by advancing such to that degree whose quality or virtue could be noways thought to deserve it. Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such inconveniences ourselves. It was, in Richard the First’s time, one of the Bishop of Ely’s accusations, that castles and forts of great trust he did (‘ obscuris et ignotis hominibus tradere’) put in the hands of obscure and unknown men. But we, Mr. Speaker, to such a kind of men are delivering up the power of our laws, and, in that, the power of all.

“ In the 17th of Edward the Fourth, there passed an act of parliament for degrading John Nevil, Marquis Montague and Duke of Bedford: the reason expressed in the act, because he had not a revenue sufficient for the maintaining of that dignity; to which was added, when men of mean birth are called to high estate, and have no livelihood to support it, it induceth briberies

A.D. 1658. and extortions, and all kinds of injustice that are followed by gain. And in the parliament of 2nd Carol. the peers, in a petition against Scottish and Irish titles, told the king, that it was a novelty without precedent that men should possess honours where they possessed nothing else, and that they should have a vote in parliament where they have not a foot of land. But if it had been added, or have no land but what is the purchase of their villanies, against how many of our new peers would this have been an important objection? To conclude: it has been a very just and reasonable care among all nations, not to render that despised and contemptible to the people which is designed for their reverence and awe; and, sir, an empty title, without quality or virtue, never procured any man this, any more than the image in the fable made the ass adored that carried it.

“ After their quality, give me leave to speak a word or two of their qualifications; which certainly ought, in reason, to carry some proportion with the employment they design themselves. The house of lords are the king’s great hereditary council; they are the highest court of judicature; they have their part in judging and determining

of the reasons for making new laws and abrogating old : from amongst them we take our great officers of state ; they are commonly our generals at land, and our admirals at sea. In conclusion, they are both of the essence and constitution of our old government ; and have, besides, the greatest and noblest share in the administration. Now, certainly, sir, to judge according to the dictates of reason, one would imagine some small faculties and endowments to be necessary for discharging such a calling ; and those such as are not usually acquired in shops and warehouses, nor found by following the plough : and what other academies most of their lordships have been bred in but their shops, what other arts they have been versed in, but those which more required good arms and good shoulders than good heads, I think we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the education of our children to ignorant and illiterate masters ; nay, we trust not our very horses to unskilful grooms. I beseech you, let us think it belongs to us to have some care into whose hands we commit the management of the commonwealth ; and if we cannot have persons of birth and fortune to be our rulers, to whose quality we would willingly submit, I beseech you,

A.D. 1658.

A.D. 1658. sir, for our credit and safety's sake, let us seek men at least of parts and education, to whose abilities we may have some reason to give way. If a patient dies under a physician's hand, the law esteems not that a felony, but a misfortune, in the physician: but it has been held by some, if one who is no physician undertakes the management of a cure, and the party miscarries, the law makes the empiric a felon; and sure, in all men's opinion, the patient a fool. To conclude, sir, for great men to govern is ordinary; for able men it is natural: knaves many times come to it by force and necessity, and fools sometimes by chance; but universal choice and election of fools and knaves for government was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.

“ But methinks, Mr. Speaker, I see ready to rise after me some gentlemen that shall tell you the good services their new lordships have done the commonwealth; that shall extol their valour, their godliness, their fidelity to the cause. The scripture, too, (no doubt,) as it is to all purposes, shall be brought in to argue for them; and we shall hear of ‘the wisdom of the poor man that saved the city;’ of the not many wise, not many

mighty : attributes that I can no way deny to be due to their lordships. Mr. Speaker, I shall be as forward as any man to declare their services, and acknowledge them ; though I might tell you that the same honour is not purchased by the blood of an enemy and of a citizen ; that for victories in civil wars, till our armies marched through the city, I have not read that the conquerors have been so void of shame as to triumph. Cæsar, not much more indulgent to his country than our late protector, did not so much as write public letters of his victory at Pharsalia ; much less had he days of thanksgiving to his gods, and anniversary feasts, for having been a prosperous rebel.

“ But, sir, I leave this argument ; and, to be as good as my word, come to put you in mind of some of their services, and the obligations you owe them for the same. To speak nothing of one of my lords commissioners’ valour at Bristol, nor of another noble lord’s brave adventure at the Bear-Garden, I must tell you, sir, that most of them have had the courage to do things which, I may boldly say, few other Christians durst so have adventured their souls to have attempted : they have not only subdued their enemies, but their masters that raised and maintained them ;

A.D. 1658. they have not only conquered Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too, and there suppressed a malignant party of magistrates and laws ; and, that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed complete conquerors, (without the help of philosophy) they have even conquered themselves. All shame they have subdued as perfectly as all justice ; the oaths they have taken, they have as easily digested as their old general could himself ; public covenants and engagements they have trampled under foot. In conclusion, so entire a victory they have over themselves, that their consciences are as much their servants, Mr. Speaker, as we are. But give me leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shows the confidence they have of themselves and us : after having many times trampled on the authority of the house of commons, and no less than five times dissolved them, they hope, for those good services to the house of commons, to be made a house of lords.

“ I have been over long, sir, for which I crave your pardon ; therefore, in a word, I beseech you let us think it our duty to have a care of two things : first, that villanies be not encouraged with the rewards of virtue ; secondly, that the

authority and majesty of the government of this nation be not defiled, and exposed to contempt, by committing so considerable a part of it to persons of as mean quality as parts. The Thebans did not admit merchants into government till they had left their traffic ten years: sure it would have been long before cobblers and draymen would have been allowed. Sir, if the wisdom of this house shall think we have been hitherto like the prodigal; and that now, when our necessities persuade us, (*i. e.* that we are almost brought to herd it with swine,) it is time to think of a return; let us without more ado, without this motley mixture, even take our rulers as at the first, so that we can but be reasonably secured to avoid our counsellors as at the beginning.

“ Give me leave, sir, to release your patience with a short story. Livy tells us there was a state in Italy, an aristocracy, where the nobility stretched the prerogative too high, and presumed too much on the people’s liberty and patience; whereupon the discontents were so general and so great, that they apparently tended to a dissolution of government, and the turning of all things into anarchy and confusion. At the same time, besides these distempers at home, there was a

A.D. 1658. potent enemy ready to fall on them from abroad, that had been an over-match for them when united; but now, in these disorders, was like to find them a very ready and easy prey. A wise man, sir, in the city, who did not at all approve of the insolence of the nobility, and as little liked popular tumults, thought of this stratagem, to cozen his country into safety. Upon a pretence of counsel, he procured the nobility to meet all together; which when they had done, he found means to lock the doors upon them, went away himself, and took the keys: then immediately summoned the people; told them, by a contrivance of his he had taken all the nobility in a trap; that now was the time to be revenged on them for their insolences; that, therefore, they should immediately go along with him and despatch them. Sir, the officers of our army, after a fast, could not be more ready for the villany than these people were; and accordingly they made as much haste to the slaughter as their lord protector could desire. But, sir, this wise man I told you of was their lord protector indeed. As soon as he had brought the people where the parliament was sitting, and when they expected but the word to fall to the butchery; ‘Gentlemen,’ says he, ‘though I would not care how soon this

work of reformation were over, yet, in this ship of the commonwealth, we must not throw the steersmen overboard till we have provided others for the helm. Let us consider, before we take these men away, in what other hands we may securely trust our liberty and the management of the commonwealth.' And so he advised them, before the putting down of the former, to bethink themselves of constituting another house. He began and nominated one, a man highly cried up in the popular faction, a confiding man, one of much zeal, little sense, and no quality ; you may suppose him, sir, a zealous cobbler. The people, in conclusion, murmured at this, and were loth their fellow mutineer, for no other virtue but mutinying, should come to be advanced to be their master ; and by their looks and murmurs sufficiently expressed the discontent they took at such a motion. Then he nominated another, as mean a mechanic as the former ; you may imagine him, sir, a bustling rude drayman, or the like : he was no sooner named but some burst out a laughing, others grew angry and railed at him, and all detested and scorned him. Upon this a third was named for a lordship, one of the same batch, and every way qualified to sit with the other two. The people then fell into a confused laugh and

A.D. 1658. noise, and inquired, if such were lords, who (by all the gods!) would be content to be commoners? Sir, let me be bold (by the good leave of the OTHER HOUSE and yours) to ask the same question. But to conclude this story, and with it the OTHER HOUSE, when this wise man I told you of perceived they were now sensible of the inconvenience and mischief they were running into, and saw that the pulling down their rulers would prove in the end but the setting up their servants, he thought them then prepared to hear reason, and told them, ‘ You see,’ says he, ‘ as bad as this government is, we cannot, for anything I see, agree upon a better: what then if, after this fright we have put our nobility in, and the demonstration we have given them of our power, we try them once more whether they will mend, and for the future behave themselves with more moderation?’ The people were so wise as to comply with that wise proposition, and to think it easier to mend their rulers than make new. And I wish, Mr. Speaker, we may be so wise as to think so too.”⁴⁴

⁴⁴ This is by far the best of those speeches which have come down to us as Shaftesbury’s: perhaps it is the best specimen of the oratory of that period extant. If it was indeed an extempora-

The boldness of this speech roused a surprising spirit in the house; a spirit which terrified Richard Cromwell, and alarmed the principal officers of the army, who met and formed a council at Wallingford House. The parliament passed several votes against the council, who then per-

neous effort, it well justifies what Burnet says of the earl, “that he had a wonderful faculty in speaking to a popular assembly, and could mix both the facetious and serious way of arguing very agreeably;” and “that he never knew any man equal to him in the art of governing parties, and of making himself the head of them.” It contains powerful argument, keen sarcasm, and happy ridicule: but whether it was spoken as it is reported, admits of much doubt; and whether it was either spoken or written by Sir Anthony was equally questionable.

This speech is copied from the old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. p. 297. It was originally published as a pamphlet, with the title of “A seasonable Speech made by a worthy member of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the other House, March 1659.” This speech, by Anthony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and by Horace Walpole, who has copied from him, is ascribed to Sir Anthony; but so far were the authors of the Parliamentary History from attributing this speech to any particular member, that they refuse to vouch its authenticity, declaring that, although it is evidently as old as it professes to be, it is too bold to have been either spoken or published at the time. The authorship of this famous oration was therefore very doubtful. Dr. Kippis, however, found among the papers from which this memoir was compiled, proof that Wood had justly attributed it to Sir Anthony; and although this decisive authority is not adduced here, he notices it in his article “Cooper” in the *Biographia Britannica*.

A.D. 1658. suaded Richard Cromwell to dissolve the house ;
Parliament dissolved.
Richard loses his power.

an action that immediately destroyed his government, which before had seemed so firmly fixed that the king's condition * had never appeared equally hopeless and desperate : for though a spirit had been raised among many of the members, the majority were for supporting the protector ; and had carried the question, that they would confer with the other house as a part of the parliament. As soon as his proclamation for dissolving them was issued, from that minute nobody resorted to him ; and thus the son* suffered himself to be stripped in one moment of all the greatness and power which the father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

Conduct of
the Wallingford
House party.

The government by a protector being broken, the general council of officers (called the Wallingford House party) assumed the administration ; but they found it easier to destroy than to establish a government. These officers were directed by Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Colonel Desborough, and Major-general Lambert, but principally by the last ; who, though he had no employment at that time in the army, was admitted into the council, and immediately after into his

* Lord Clarendon.

old commission. He had great reputation and A.D. 1658. interest in the army, which had induced Oliver Cromwell through jealousy to deprive him of his command.

The officers not having settled their form of government, and having no foundation for their power but the sword, were perplexed with a variety of counsels; and, at the same time, were alarmed with the designs of the cavaliers and presbyterians at home, and the situation of affairs abroad, for France and Spain were negotiating a peace at the Pyrenees. At length they determined to restore the old parliament, though they were apprehensive that “an opportunity* would be given for more people to come together than would be for their benefit;” for all the surviving members of that parliament would pretend a title to sit there. In the declaration, therefore, which the officers published inviting the old parliament to meet again, they not only limited the convention to such members who had continued to sit from January 1648-9 to the 20th of April 1653, (which was the day that Cromwell with the assistance of these very officers had forced them out of the house,) but they ordered a guard likewise to attend to keep out the other members.

Parliament
of 1653 re-
stored.

* Lord Clarendon.

A.D. 1659. The next day after the declaration, the speaker Lenthal, and about forty-three of the members, went in a body to the house, where they came to a resolution* to assert, establish, and secure the property and the liberties of the people both as men and as Christians, and that without a single person, kingship, or house of peers ; and to uphold a godly and faithful magistracy and ministry."

Divers of the members who were formerly secluded by the violence of the army, as Mr. Annesley, (afterwards Earl of Anglesey,) Sir George Booth, (afterwards Lord Delamere,) Mr. Pryn, Mr. Montague, Sir John Evelyn, Mr. Hungerford, and others, offered to take their places ; but, though they got with some difficulty into the lobby, and insisted on their privilege, the officers denied them entrance into the house.

Council of state.

The parliament appointed a council of state,⁴⁵ consisting of thirty-one persons ; and, to give the public an opinion of their impartiality, they in the first place elected some who were not members of

* Parliam. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 380.

⁴⁵ Seven of those who were not members of the house were immediately chosen by resolution, and among these was Sir Anthony. The other three non-members and the twenty-one members were chosen by ballot the next day.

A.D. 1659.

parliament, as Sir Anthony,* Sir Horatio Townshend, and some others; and then chose twenty-one members to complete the number.

Though Sir Anthony did not sit in the council, he found means to create and foment a division amongst them; being sensible that they would not be proper instruments for settling the peace of the nation.

Sir Antho-
ny creates
division in
the council.

The steps which he had taken to break the absolute governments, first of the protector, and afterwards of the army, were well known; and the reputation which he had thus acquired fixed the eyes of the public upon him. Those who were enemies to the Wallingford House party

* Mr. Stringer says, that Sir Anthony did not sit in this council; and it appears by a pamphlet called "England's Confusion," printed in the year 1659, that neither he nor Sir Horatio Townshend ever sat or acted in it.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ He is there described as "a gentleman too wise and honest to sit in such company;" while Sir Horatio Townshend is said to be "a gentleman of too good estate to be hazarded with such a crew." Some of the characters of the other members, as given in this pamphlet, are amusing. Desborough is called "a country clown without fear or wit;" Mr. Wallop, "a silent Hampshire gentleman much in debt;" Fairfax, "an alloy for Lambert's brittle metal;" Bury, "the worst of major-generals except Butler;" and Josiah Barners, "fool of the play."

A.D. 1659.

Applied to
by General
Monk.

addressed themselves chiefly to Sir Anthony.

Among others, General Monk, by a letter,* solicited his friendship and interest that no alteration might be made amongst the officers under his command. Sir Anthony, foreseeing the use which might be made of Monk to withstand the power

* HONOURABLE SIR,

It is some trouble to me, that the first time I should have occasion to write to you, it must be to request a favour at your hands. But I hope you will please to pardon this my incivility and boldness, and place me in the list of your friends; for, I can assure you, I shall be as ready to serve you as any friend you have. Understanding that there is a committee appointed by parliament for the presenting of officers, to be continued in the several regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and knowing the officers here were, upon the first motion, most desirous that the Long Parliament might be recalled to return to their former station; I make it my request unto you, that you will be assisting that there may be no alteration amongst the officers belonging to the forces here: for I shall desire you to

give credit herein, that you may be confident that there is not any you can employ will be more ready to serve the commonwealth than they. But in case my request for the whole cannot be granted, I shall entreat that the officers of my own regiment of horse and foot, and Colonel Talbot's regiment, (a list whereof I have sent inclosed) may be continued: they have usually quartered nearest me, and so are best known to me. I shall also desire you will acquaint as many members of the house as you shall think fit to engage in this business; by doing which you will very much oblige

Your humble servant,

GEORGE MONK.

Dalkeith, 4 June, 1659.

For the Hon. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, one of the Council of State, at Whitehall.

of the army in England, engaged his friends in parliament to gratify the general in his request.

This conduct gave the council of state a jealousy of Sir Anthony. Mr. Scot, a few days after its establishment, accused him of holding a correspondence with the king and Sir Edward Hyde: but, though he acted with so great zeal, vigour, and success for the restoration, he never treated with the king or his minister; as appears by the letter he wrote afterwards to King Charles the Second, from the Tower.

The parliament had been restored on the 7th of May 1659, and, in the latter end of July, they had intelligence of risings in several counties. Sir George Booth raised a great body in Cheshire; Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townshend, did the same in Norfolk; and Sir Anthony had a large party engaged with him, and ready to appear at his summons, in Dorsetshire. But the undertaking being discovered, several persons failing in their engagements, and Lambert having defeated Sir George Booth, Sir Anthony concealed himself, and his friends in Dorsetshire dispersed themselves in time. However, he was soon taken, and brought to a strict examination before the council of state; where he

Council of
state jea-
lous of Sir
Anthony.

Insurrec-
tions.

A.D. 1659. so well defended himself, that they were obliged to release him : and, on September the 14th, 1659, it was resolved by the parliament,* “that this house doth agree with the council of state; and doth declare that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper is clear from the accusation laid against him, and that there is not any just ground of jealousy or imputation upon him.”

Lambert's schemes.

Lambert, after he had defeated Sir George Booth, and the other forces under Sir Thomas Middleton, finding that he had great interest among the troops, was ambitious of advancing himself by their assistance. To effect this, he promoted a petition to the parliament, which was signed by the inferior officers of the army. In this they desired that they might be governed, as all armies used to be, by a general, who might be amongst them, and other officers, according to their qualities, subordinate to him; that Fleetwood might be their general, and Lambert their major-general. The address was intitled,† “The humble petition and proposal of the officers of the army under the command of the right honourable the Lord Lambert in the late northern expedition.” Lambert knew that he could easily

* Parliam. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 452.

† Parliam. Hist.

govern Fleetwood, and, when necessary, set him aside; by which the army would be at his own disposal. But the parliament was aware of his designs; and, to prevent them, passed a vote,* “that to have any more general officers in the army than are already settled by the parliament, is useless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth.” Soon after, they resolved to discharge Lambert, Desborough, Berry, and several others; and to appoint Fleetwood, Ludlow, Monk, Haslerigge, Morley, Walton, and Overton, to be commissioners to govern all the forces. This exasperated Lambert and the other officers, who thought themselves entitled to more favour from their late success against Sir George Booth; and having the sword, and consequently the power, in their hands, they looked on every check and opposition to their demands and their interest as an affront to them. On the 13th of October, they filled all the avenues to the house of commons with soldiers, and stopped the speaker and several members. In this manner they prevented the parliament’s sitting, relying on the general council of officers “to secure by the sword the liberties of the people and the public peace of

Conduct of parliament.

Prevented from sitting.

* Parliam. Hist.

A.D. 1659. the kingdom." They established a council, called Committee of safety. the Committee of Safety, consisting of twenty-three persons, and invested them with more power than had been given to the council of state. They appointed Fleetwood commander-in-chief, and Lambert major-general, of all the forces in England and Scotland. Sir Anthony had too much sagacity to neglect such a crisis.⁴⁷ He had lately

⁴⁷ It will be seen by the note a few pages further on, that the account of Sir Anthony's conduct at this juncture, which is given in the text, is taken from a fragment of his own memoirs. Mr. Locke, in his "Memoirs relating to the Life of Anthony first Earl of Shaftesbury," has a somewhat more detailed notice of the same period: he says, "Having reason to apprehend what tyranny the usurpation of the government by the officers of the army under the title of the Committee of Safety might end in, he thought the first step to settlement was the breaking of them, which could not be done with any pretence of authority but that of the Long Parliament. Meeting therefore secretly with Sir Arthur Haslerigge and some others of the members, they gave commissions in the name of the parliament to be major-generals; one, of the forces about London; another, of the west, &c.; and this when they had not one soldier. Nay, he often would tell it laughing, that when he had his commission, his great care was where to hide it. Before this he had secured Portsmouth, for the governor of it, Colonel Metham, being his old acquaintance and friend, he asked him one day, meeting him by chance in Westminster Hall, whether he would put Portsmouth into his hands if he should happen to have occasion for it? Metham promised it should be at his devotion. These transactions, though no part of them were known in particular,

obliged General Monk in the point on which A.D. 1659. Monk had, by his letter, desired his interest; and, upon that, had established a correspondence, and entered into a friendship with him. As he thought he might depend on Monk's secrecy, and knew his jealousy with regard to the removal of his officers, he gave him notice that the committee intended a regulation among them, and

yet causing some remote preparations, alarmed Wallingford House, where the committee of safety sat, and made them so attentive to all actions and discoveries that might give them any light, that at last they were fully persuaded there was something brewing against them, and that matter for commotions in several parts was gathering. They knew the vigour and activity of Sir A. Ashley, and how well he stood affectionated to them, and therefore suspected that he was at the bottom of the matter. To find what they could, and secure the man they most apprehended, he was sent for to Wallingford House, where Fleetwood examined him according to the suspicions he had of him, that he was laying designs in the west against them, and was working the people to an insurrection that he intended to head there. He told them he knew no obligation he was under to give them an account of his actions, nor to make them any promises; but, to show them how ill-grounded their suspicions were, he promised that he would not go out of town without coming first and giving them an account of it. Fleetwood knowing his word might be relied on, satisfied with the promise he had made, let him go on his parole. That which deceived them in the case was, that knowing his estate and interest lay in the west, they presumed that that was his post, and there certainly, if any stir was, he would appear; since there lay his

A.D. 1659. advised him to prevent it by marching directly with all his forces towards the borders of England. Monk, not being one of the committee, was the more dissatisfied with their proceedings ; and, having this notice of their intentions, resolved to secure himself in the interest he had acquired. For this purpose he new modelled his army, imprisoned some of his officers, and cashiered

Sir Anthony's
advice to
Monk.

great strength, and they had nobody else in view who could supply his room and manage that part. But they were mistaken. Haslerigge, upon the knowledge that they would have Portsmouth, forwardly took that province ; and he, who had instruments at work in the army quartered about London, and who knew that must be the place of most business and management, and where the turn of affairs would be, had chosen that.

“ Lambert, who was one of the rulers at Wallingford House, happened to be away when he was there, and came not in till he was gone : when they told him that Sir Anthony Ashley had been there, and what had passed, he blamed Fleetwood for letting him go, and told him they should have secured him ; for that certainly there was something in it that they were deceived in, and they should not have parted so easily with so busy and dangerous a man as he was. Lambert was of a quicker sight and a deeper reach than Fleetwood and the rest of that gang, and knowing of what moment it was to their security to frustrate the contrivances of that working and able head, was resolved, if possibly he could, to get him into his clutches.”

The diligent search which was now again made after Sir Anthony furnished him with many opportunities for the exercise of that remarkable penetration with which he was endowed. Upon one occasion he was entering his own house, when a

others, who were suspected by him to favour the conduct of the committee and the army in England. In their places he put creatures of his own, and advanced towards the borders of England ; but there he was forced to stop, because Lambert was advancing against him with a stronger army. The two generals, unwilling to trust the whole success of their cause to the hazard of a decisive battle, agreed to a truce; whilst Monk sent the Colonels Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, to treat

Monk begins his march.

stranger stepped up, and, upon some frivolous pretence, held him for a short time in conversation. He then took his leave, and Sir Anthony went into the house. But he had perceived sufficient in the manner of the stranger to excite his suspicion ; and as soon as he was out of sight, Sir Anthony left the house again, and went over to a barber's which was nearly opposite. His penetration saved him. He had no sooner got up stairs than he could see his own door surrounded by a file of soldiers, with the stranger who had so recently held him in conversation at their head. They searched and re-searched every part of the house with indefatigable perseverance ; the officer declaring that it was impossible that Sir Anthony, whom he left only three minutes before going in at his own door, could be gone again in so short a time.

The object of their search watched all their proceedings in security ; but as he had no inclination to undergo a second series of interrogatories at Wallingford House, he disguised himself and withdrew into the city, where he remained hid for some time, and worked his conspiracy in secrecy, until its success enabled him to reappear with safety.

A.D. 1659. with Fleetwood and the committee of safety.

Treats with
the com-
mittee of
safety.

Sir Anthony, apprehensive of an union between Monk and the committee, used his utmost endeavours to prevent it. After many attempts, he procured a meeting between Monk's three commissioners, and himself and Sir Arthur Haslerigge, at the Fleece Tavern in Covent-Garden. At this conference they told him they had fully agreed with Fleetwood the day before, and settled the terms upon which Monk was to join him and support the committee of safety. Sir Anthony represented to them the instability of such a power as the committee of safety had, and the great danger to which Monk would expose himself in adhering to them; that, after having answered their views, and strengthened their hands, he must soon expect to be laid aside, and then ruined, though with more artifice and by slower steps than others who were less formidable to them; but that, if Monk would declare for the parliament, he might depend on being general of all their forces. Sir Anthony showed the commissioners the probability of success in restoring the parliament by the interest which he himself had in the army about London; that Portsmouth, besides, was at his disposal; that Sir

Sir An-
THONY'S EN-
DEAVOURS TO
BREAK THE
TREATY.

Charles Coote had assured him of six thousand men from Ireland upon the first notice; that Vice-admiral Lawson, who commanded the fleet, was in the mouth of the river, and was his firm friend; and that Lord Fairfax, who had so great an influence on the soldiers, utterly abhorred the proceedings of the council of officers. Colonel Wilkes persisted that they had, in General Monk's name, and by his authority, concluded a treaty, from which Monk ought not to recede: but Sir Anthony's discourse had such an effect on Cloberry and Knight, that they expressed their satisfaction at so fair a prospect; and promised to use their interest with General Monk to break off the treaty, refuse the terms which were offered him, and declare for restoring the parliament. Whilst the commissioners were returning to the general, Sir Anthony was not inactive. He had engaged Colonel Whetham, the governor of Portsmouth, with whom he was intimate, to deliver that place to him, or any friends he should appoint; and, accordingly, Sir Arthur Haslerigge and Colonel Morley, at Sir Anthony's desire, went and took possession of it in the name of the parliament; while Sir Anthony remained behind, with a commission which empowered him to take

Sir An-
THONY'S ac-
tivity for the
parliament.

A.D. 1659. the command of those forces about London which were every day expected to revolt from the committee of safety. This was not conducted so secretly but that some uncertain and dark notices of it were carried to the committee; upon which Colonel Cooke was sent by General Fleetwood to seize Sir Anthony, and bring him to be examined. The colonel and general both treated him, as Sir Anthony acknowledged, with great civility. He quickly found, upon discourse with Fleetwood, that they were in a mistake, and their intelligence imperfect; that they apprehended he was to command the forces against them in the west, which he assured them was not true. Then the general demanded that he would act nothing to their prejudice; but this he refused, saying, he was a member of the council of state, and greatly trusted by the parliament, whom he would do his utmost to restore; and that they might allow him a greater laxity of speech, since they must be sensible he had no power to injure them: he knew the committee had a great influence over the army; but they could not, perhaps, take a surer way to lose that influence than by ill-treating him, and others their old friends and fellow commanders: however, if they were apprehensive

Sir An-
thony
seized and
examined.

of his interest in the west, he would give them his word not to depart the city without their leave. This General Fleetwood accepted, and Sir Anthony was released ; but, immediately after he was gone, they gave orders for re-seizing him ; and, at ten o'clock at night, a party of soldiers broke suddenly into his house, which they searched strictly for him, but were disappointed, he having removed some minutes before into the city. There he continued in secret, until he had engaged a great body of the citizens for the parliament, and had procured the command of the Tower to be delivered to him, and all the army about London, both horse and foot, to be drawn up in Lincoln's Inn Fields, though the field officers had not declared for the parliament.⁴⁸

These schemes being thus happily concerted and executed ; in order to complete the great work he had designed, he went down to the fleet, and there entirely fixed Vice-admiral Lawson in

Brings
Admiral
Lawson
over to the
parliament.

⁴⁸ In this year was printed a pamphlet with the title of "A Letter from Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Thomas Scot, J. Berners, and J. Weaver, Esq., delivered to the Lord Fleetwood, owning their late actions in endeavouring to secure the Tower of London, and expostulating his lordship's defection from his engagements unto the parliament."

A.D. 1659. the same interest; an achievement which is thus spoken of by Lord Clarendon: “That which broke the heart of the committee of safety was the revolt of their favourite, Vice-admiral Lawson; a man, at that time, appearing at least as much a republican as any amongst them, as much an independent, as much an enemy to the presbyterians and to the covenant as Sir Harry Vane himself, and a great dependent upon Sir Harry Vane; and one whom they had raised to that command in the fleet, that they might be sure to have the seamen still at their devotion. This man, with his whole squadron, came into the river, and declared for the parliament; which was so unexpected that they would not believe it, but sent Sir Harry Vane, and two others of great intimacy with Lawson, to confer with him, who, when they came to the fleet, found Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and two others, members of parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their charms, and told them ‘that he would submit to no authority but that of the parliament.’”

The parliament met again at Westminster, December 26th, 1659; and on the same day appointed Sir Anthony, Colonel Alexander Popham,

and others, to be commissioners for the command A.D. 1659.

of all their forces. This appointment gave Sir Anthony an opportunity to exert, in an extraordinary instance, his sagacity and judgment. He immediately procured a meeting of the commissioners; and having provided several clerks, these were employed the whole day in writing out orders, which were sent that night to every field officer in Lambert's army, which that general had left in order to go to Wallingford House upon the treaty with Monk's commissioners. In the preamble to the order, notice was taken of the restoration of the parliament, the power they had delegated to the commissioners, and the return of the army about London to their duty: the officers were therefore directed, upon pain of being cashiered, immediately to march with their regiments to such quarters as were assigned them; which were far enough distant from each other, or from the place wherein they lay. Thus Lambert's army vanished in an instant, not one entire regiment disobeying. Orders were likewise despatched that night to other places in England where any troops were quartered, for these immediately to disband; and proper authorities were sent to such persons of estate and ability as re-

Contrives
to dissolve
Lambert's
army.

A.D. 1659. sided near the troops, and could be trusted, to see the orders put in execution. These measures had the effect intended; so great was the consternation which this sudden and unexpected revolution produced.*

A. D.
1659-60.

On January the 7th, 1659-60, upon a report from the committee of elections in favour of Sir Anthony, he was admitted to his seat in the house of commons; and on the 13th of the same

* This paragraph is taken sheet of Lord Shaftesbury's almost verbatim from a loose manuscript.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Mr. Locke's account is very similar: "The first thing he did was to get from the parliament a commission to himself and two or three more of the most weighty and popular members of the house to have the power of general of all the forces in England, which they were to execute jointly. This was no sooner done but he got them together, where he had provided abundance of clerks, who were immediately set to work to transcribe a great many copies of the form of a letter, wherein they reciting that it had pleased God to restore the parliament to the exercise of their power, and that the parliament had given them a commission to command the army; they therefore commanded him, (viz. the officer to whom the letter was directed,) immediately with his troop, company, or regiment, as it happened, to march to N. These letters were directed to the chief officers of any part of the army who had their quarters together in any part of England. These letters were despatched away by particular messengers that very night, and coming to the several officers so peremptorily to march immediately, they had not time to assemble and debate among themselves what to do;

month he was made colonel of Fleetwood's regiment of horse, which soon after declared for the parliament.

A. D.
1659-60.

It would be needless to detain the reader with long remarks on Sir Anthony's conduct. It is evident that, from the time of Richard Cromwell's parliament, at least from the first establishment of the committee of safety, he had framed and acted upon his scheme for the king's restoration.⁵⁰

Remarks
on Sir An-
THONY'S
conduct.

and having no other intelligence but that the parliament was restored, and that the city, and Portsmouth, and other parts of England had declared for them, the officers durst not disobey, but all, according to their several orders, marched some one way, and some another; so that this army, which was the great strength of the gentlemen of Wallingford House, was by these means quite scattered, and rendered perfectly useless to the committee of safety, who were hereby perfectly reduced under the power of the parliament, as so many disarmed men to be disposed of as they thought fit."

⁵⁰ In February of this year, Lady Willoughby writes to Clarendon that Sir Anthony is his majesty's fast friend. The king had before written to Sir Anthony, desiring his assistance. The letter was conveyed by an agent of the royalists, named Mordaunt. Sir Anthony refused to treat, because he had heard, he said, that the king had made a grant of his estate to his lord chancellor, Hyde. This the chancellor denies. "I have never," he says, "been corrupted with that appetite in the least degree; and if I were, I serve a master that would not satisfy it, and who, I dare swear, hath not so much in his own secret purposes designed any one man's estate in England to any third person, much less made a promise of it."—*Clar. Papers*, vol. iii. p. 512.

A. D.
1659-60.

The nation was now thoroughly wearied of change, and disgusted with the ever varying forms of government which were daily imposed upon it. Sir Anthony saw that the first steps to a restoration must be dividing and disarming the officers, restoring the old parliament, and then obtaining a free one. He had formed his design with great penetration, and he conducted it with steadiness and activity. In pursuing it, he adapted himself to the different views and passions of several sorts of men, but kept his own intentions secret. It was owing solely to his interest that Portsmouth was put into the hands of Sir Arthur Haslerigge, whose view was only to restore the old parliament. He engaged the soldiers, and likewise secured the fleet, to favour this preliminary measure. He worked up a spirit in the city to declare for a free parliament; and by his policy broke the army, or, at least, deprived them of the power of doing any immediate mischief. With the same prudence, the same vigour, he pursued the other part of his design, and exerted the whole of his influence to procure a free parliament.

Sir Anthony, soon after his conference with Monk's commissioners, sent a letter to persuade him to come to London, and assuring him he

Sir Anthony encourages Monk to come to London.

should meet with no obstruction in his march. This was subscribed, likewise, by some others, who had been of the council of state; but in his correspondence with Clarges, who was hearty for the restoration, Sir Anthony opened himself more freely, and showed him that it was practicable. Monk, upon the invitation which he had received, marched to Newark; and the way being cleared for him by the dispersing of Lambert's forces, he advanced towards London. On the road he was addressed by Lord Fairfax and others, who intimated their desire of seeing the ancient government restored. He received them with civility, but answered with great reserve. Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Mr. Scot, and others, grew jealous and apprehensive of him. They resolved to check the power of one whom they thought so dangerous; and therefore offered to make Sir Anthony general of their forces, if he would march against him. Though Sir Anthony might have promised himself success in the undertaking, Monk's army being small and his cavalry weak, he refused their offer, and told them he had given Monk a promise of his friendship, which he would not break. This reduced him to a worse state with them than Monk was. They perceived his opi-

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Monk's
march.

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Monk's
arrival in
London.

nions to be repugnant to theirs, and from that time never consulted with him.⁵¹

Upon Monk's approach, Sir Anthony, to perform his promise and prevent any opposition, procured an order of parliament that the soldiers in and about London should march forth, and make room for Monk; who immediately entered the town, and ordered them into distant quarters.

⁵¹ Sir Anthony's great talent is at no period so apparent as in his conduct of the various and difficult intrigues with which this time was so rife. We always find him prominent and indefatigable, and he is generally successful. He overlooked no source of information, and he was almost always the first to surprise his friends and confound his opponents by a discovery of the most secret counsels and the most covert designs. He had undertaken a difficult task when he proposed to direct the conduct of Monk, a man who was ambitious, yet undecided as to the object of his ambition; desirous of power, yet without talent to acquire or retain it; and singularly fortunate in obtaining by conduct, which resulted only from irresolute selfishness, a reputation for deep thought and disinterested patriotism. Yet Sir Anthony, when he had once resolved to make him the instrument of a restoration, watched him with unerring caution, and guided him with the influence of a superior mind. For this purpose he had gained over the general's wife, who naturally dreading the result of the dark designs in which she feared her husband was engaged, confided to Sir Anthony all she either observed or suspected. This channel of information enabled him, on several occasions, to give Monk signal proofs that he had a superior master at intrigue to deal with,—one whom it was in vain for him to attempt to deceive.

The jealousy which had been conceived of Monk increasing every day amongst those who wished to establish an oligarchy, they resolved to put him upon some action that would lessen his interest in the city, and consequently in the country. In order to this, Sir Arthur Haslerigge and his party procured a meeting, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, of such persons as they thought most attached to them among the members of the council of war and council of state. Sir Arthur himself carried the general to this assembly, who was no sooner entered but the doors were secured, and a guard placed without, with express orders that no one whatever should be admitted. Neither Sir Anthony nor any friend of Monk's had the least notice of this till about an hour after the assembly had sat; when an officer of the army, by accident seeing Sir Anthony and Mr. Weaver in a coach in Fleet-street, acquainted them with it, apprehending it was upon some very important business, by the locking of the doors, and the orders that had been given to the guards; both which he (being then in the outward room) saw and heard. Upon this, Sir Anthony and Mr. Weaver hastened to Whitehall; where the guards, out of respect to them, (being both mem-

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bers of the council of state,) permitted them to knock and call at several doors of the room ; but they could have no admittance. They went immediately to Monk's wife, who was apprehensive of some ill design, because her husband had no previous knowledge of that meeting ; nor could she be satisfied till they returned with her to the council-chamber, where she called aloud that she had business of great consequence to impart to her husband ; but no artifice could prevail to have the door opened, or one word of answer returned from within. After this second repulse, they returned to her lodgings, and stayed there till the general came home, which was not before two o'clock in the morning. He appeared more confused and disturbed than was usual in a man of his courage and resolution : and he told them, “that he did not like the proceedings of the council ; for, taking a pretence from a ridiculous attempt of some apprentices and others in the city some days before, they had expressly ordered him to pull down, that very morning, the gates, portcullises, and chains of the city, and to send ten of the principal citizens prisoners to the Tower.”

Council's
order to
Monk con-
cerning the
city.

Sir Anthony laid before him the ill conse-

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quences which must attend such an action ; that he would lose the hearts of all the well-meaning men in the city and nation, and be at the command of those who evidently hated him. But as the general was unwilling to come to an open breach with the council and the parliament, to whom he had publicly professed his attachment, and who, by voting him out of his employment, might have forced him into a rupture with them, he replied that, be it as it would, he could not now do otherwise than obey these orders : and he put them in execution the next day. The parliament now thought it in their power to use him as they pleased ; and accordingly, instead of making him general of all their forces, as they had promised him, they by an ordinance conferred the command of the army upon five commissioners or any three of them. Monk, indeed, was one ; but Sir Arthur Haslerigge and three more of Sir Arthur's friends were the rest. The same evening General Monk returned to his lodgings at Whitehall, where Sir Anthony and some others of his friends represented to him the condition into which he had brought himself, and the slight the parliament had put upon him ; so that his ruin was near if he would not take some vigorous

He complies with it.

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Declares
for a free
parliament.

measures to prevent it. Their remonstrances prevailed ; and the next morning he marched into the city, and there wrote a letter to the persons sitting at Westminster, signed by himself and fourteen of the principal officers of his Coldstream regiment, demanding a full and free parliament ; and by the importunity of Sir Anthony, Colonel Popham, Sir Edward Harley, and others, he repaired to Guildhall, where he gave the lord mayor and court of aldermen an account of what he had done, making an apology for what he had been compelled to the day before. The lord mayor and citizens refused, at first, to put any confidence in him, till Sir Anthony, Colonel Popham, and their friends had prepared them for his reception with an assurance that he was sincere in what he was then prosecuting, of which they were afterwards so well satisfied, that the merit of his second action easily atoned for the severity of the former. He was followed home to his quarters in the city with the greatest acclamations and with unusual expressions of joy, which appeared by ringing of bells, bonfires, and roasting of rumps in derision of the parliament.

The joy of
the citizens.

The people were so unruly in their joy, that, as Sir Anthony and Colonel Popham were going

through the streets, the mob surrounded the coach, and knowing them to be members, cried out with some rudeness, “Down with the rumps!” Sir Anthony looked out, and, smiling, said to them, “What, gentlemen, not one good piece in a rump?”* The mob, with their usual fickleness, were taken with the jest, and attended him and the colonel with loud acclamations.

The spirit of hostility so openly manifested by the city intimidated the parliament. Upon the receipt therefore of the letter† from Monk and his officers, they presently voted the filling up of their house; but they required such strict qualifications, that none but those who were zealous men of that party could sit amongst them. By this they manifested their design of continuing the legislative power in themselves, their friends, and their posterities, instead of settling a government that might be equal and just to the people, whose security must chiefly lie in having their representatives accountable to them by frequent elections. General Monk, likewise, was apprehensive that the revolution might proceed too fast for him to preserve the direction of it. He attached himself, therefore, to no party, but con-

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Parliament
intimi-
dated.

Monk's re-
served con-
duct.

* Stringer.

† Whitlocke.

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versed indiscriminately with men of different principles, that they might all depend upon him as their leader. He often convened numbers of them to confer together in his presence on the posture of affairs, intermixing them as he thought fit, and keeping the kingdom in great suspense ; and, if even those who knew him best were not mistaken, he himself was in equal uncertainty. Sir Anthony saw that the parliament's intention was to perpetuate their own power, and Monk's to raise himself by their means ; and being sensible that his design of restoring the king could only be effected by the dissolution of that parliament, he pursued with ardour the reinstating of the secluded members.⁵²

A design to
imprison Sir
Anthony.

About this time, Colonel Markham informed Sir Anthony, “ that he had just been with the general, and as he was going into his apartment

⁵² In a pamphlet called “ Reply to a second return to the letter of a noble peer concerning the addresses,” published many years after, and preserved in Lord Somers’ Tracts, vol. viii. p. 338, Shaftesbury is spoken of as “ a man who had one of the chief hands in restoring a prince to his kingdom, as I know he had ; and without whose courage and dexterity some men, the most highly rewarded, had done otherwise than they did.” This pamphlet was written either by Shaftesbury or some other of the chiefs of the party, and the assertion was never denied.

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he met Sir Arthur Haslerigge and Mr. Scot coming out, whom he overheard to say, that they would secure Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper before to-morrow noon; that he was afraid they had been tampering with the general and were come to some agreement." Upon this intelligence, Sir Anthony went to Monk, told him frankly what he had heard, and pressed him to be equally unreserved. Monk, after much importunity and some dark discourse, owned what had passed between Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Mr. Scot, and himself; and that he had engaged to return to his lodgings at Whitehall the next morning to support their interest and obey the parliament's orders. He did not deny that they had promised to make him general of all their forces; but assured Sir Anthony that he would take upon himself to make them *his* friends, and would have a particular regard to *his* interest. This was about five o'clock in the afternoon; when Sir Anthony left him, desiring he might at night have a farther conference on that subject. Sir Anthony, before he went, gave Monk's wife an account of what had passed, advising her to send for her brother Clarges, as himself would for Colonel Cloberry and Colonel Knight. Being met, they united

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Secluded
members
restored.

their efforts to persuade the general to restore the secluded members; to which, after some hours' debate, he consented, and gave Clarges and Sir Anthony a commission to summon them together at the Prince's Lodgings in Whitehall at nine o'clock the next morning, promising that they should be conducted to the parliament-house with honour and safety. A considerable number accordingly assembled at the appointed place. This was effected without the least notice being given to the other party: for when Sir Arthur Hasle-rigge came thither, expecting the general was returned as a friend, and found so many of the secluded members, with great resentment in his countenance he said to Sir Anthony, "This is your doing, but it shall cost blood." Sir Anthony replied, "Your own, if you please; but Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper will not be secured this morning." General Monk, coming forth at that instant into the great room, told Sir Arthur, who reminded him of his promise, that it was necessary for the public peace to restore those members, who had declared they intended no alteration of the government, and proposed nothing farther than to pave the way for a new parliament; and since there was no method of issuing

summons but by writs in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of parliament, it could not be apprehended that any other government would be introduced. The secluded members being admitted, the parliament repealed all the orders by which they had been excluded; renewed and enlarged the general's commission; passed an act to dissolve themselves on the 17th day of March 1659-60, and to call another parliament to sit on the 25th day of April following. They likewise appointed a new council of state, consisting of thirty-one persons, viz. General Monk, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Colonel Popham, William Pierpoint, John Crew, Colonel Rossiter, Richard Knightly, Colonel Morley, Lord Fairfax, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Lord Chief Justice St. John, Sir John Temple, Lord Commissioner Widdrington, Sir John Evelyn, Sir William Waller, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Edward Montague, Sir Edward Harley, Colonel Norton, Arthur Annesley, Denzil Holles, esqrs. Colonel George Thompson, John Trevor, Sir John Holland, Sir John Potts, Colonel Birch, Sir Harbottle Grimston, John Swinton, John Weaver, esqrs. and Serjeant Maynard.

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Act to dis-
solve the
Long Par-
liament.

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These were invested with power to act in all matters relating to the government, as well during the sitting as in the intervals of parliament.

The parliament, about two days before the dissolution, ordered the following engagement, viz. “I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without king or house of lords,” to be taken off the file, and made void.

Scheme to
make
Monk pro-
tector.

Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Mr. Scot, and the chief of that party, concluded by this step that the parliament intended to restore the king. Therefore, after they had privately consulted with several officers of the army, they went to the general at Whitehall, and told him that many of his friends were much troubled at what the parliament had done, as it tended both to the ruin of himself and the public; since it was evident, by what had been voted the day before, that the restoration of the king was designed. They said, that they found a commonwealth was disagreeable to the disposition of the people, who were always bad judges of what was best for them; and therefore, since a government by a single person was necessary, there

could not be one fitter than himself for that office ; and that in this decision they had ground to believe the nation in general would concur.

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The next day they went to him again, taking with them Monsieur Bourdeaux, the French ambassador ; who, after the others had used all their arts to persuade Monk to take the government,* gave him assurances that Cardinal Mazarine was desirous of his friendship, and would faithfully assist him. He represented to him what a glory it would be to dignify his family with the empire of three kingdoms ; and assured him that in the attempt he might depend, not only on the cardinal's friendship and assistance, but on a safe retreat and honourable support in France in case he should fail of success. Monk's eyes were dazzled by the prospect, and at last he consented.

Great part of the night was spent in forming the scheme ; and it was resolved to secure Sir Anthony, and several others, who were likely to be most active in opposing the design. The general's wife, who had overheard part of the discourse behind the hangings, sent her brother

* Lord Clarendon says, that Monk was offered all the authority of Cromwell and the title of king.

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Clarges to acquaint Sir Anthony with what had been concluded that night. He commended her prudence for making the discovery, as it might save her husband and family; for Monk, he said, had not quickness enough for such an undertaking, and must certainly be ruined in the attempt.⁵³

Defeated
by Sir An-
THONY AND
his friends.

Sir Anthony immediately sent for those members of the council of state, who he knew would not favour the proceedings of Sir Arthur Hasle-rigge, to meet by eight o'clock at the council chamber at Whitehall.

At this meeting, Sir Anthony told the general he must be sensible that every trial which had been made of new forms and methods of government, instead of providing a settlement or security for the people, produced only tyranny and oppression; that it was impossible for England

⁵³ This lady is called some very hard names in the Thurloe papers, and these have been lately put prominently forward by an author who seems to have imbibed a most unreasonable degree of dislike both for her and her husband. It is not at all impossible but these tales are mere scandal; but, if true, why rake up her early errors to influence our judgment upon her subsequent conduct? Was there no womanly merit in refusing the prospect of a crown, because the struggle for it must compromise her husband's safety?

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to be a free nation under the government of an army and the power of the sword; that the fluctuations and revolutions must be endless unless the ancient laws and constitution of the kingdom were restored, which could not be effected but by restoring the king; and that, since there must be a single person, he who had the best right to it was fittest to be on the throne. Sir Anthony also told Monk, that though many persons might think themselves in danger by the restoration, it would be his fault if there should be any sufferers; for he might bring in the king upon such terms and conditions as would make every man safe, himself great, and the nation happy. In this Sir Anthony said they expected he should assist them, and engage upon his honour that nothing should divert him from it. Monk, apprehensive that his designs were discovered, and being encompassed by a set of men with whom, at that time, he was unable to contend, made no scruple to give them any assurances; and, as a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he consented to change several commissions in the army.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ This account of one of the most important intrigues in our history is probably taken from Stringer's MS.: it agrees in every

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1659-60.

Commiss-
ions in the
army chan-
ged,

Sir Anthony made immediate use of this concession; for, being well acquainted with the characters of most of the officers, he drew up an establishment of the army,* which reduced

* The rough drafts of this establishment of the army and navy, in his own hand-writing, are among his papers, in the possession of the present Earl of Shaftesbury.

material circumstance with that given by Mr. Locke, who doubtless derived his information from the earl himself. After speaking of the private understanding which had taken place between Monk and the French ambassador, and the manner in which it had been discovered to Sir Anthony by Mrs. Monk, Mr. Locke describes the scene in the council-chamber, thus:— “Upon this notice, Sir Anthony caused the council of state, whereof he was one, to be summoned; and when they were met, he desired the clerks might withdraw, he having matter of great importance to communicate to them. The doors of the council-chamber being locked, and the keys laid upon the table, he began to charge Monk, not in a direct and open accusation, but in obscure intimations and doubtful expressions, giving ground of suspicion that he was playing false with them and not doing as he promised. This he did so skilfully and intelligibly to Monk that he perceived he was discovered, and therefore in his answer to him fumbled and seemed out of order, so that the rest of the council perceived there was something in it, though they knew not what the matter was; and the general at last averring that what had been suggested was upon groundless suspicions, and that he was true to his principles and stood firm to what he had professed to them, and had no secret designs that ought to disturb them, and that he was ready to give them all manner of satisfaction: whereupon Sir A. Ashley closing with him and making a further

six regiments of foot and one of horse, and made a reduction in all the garrison companies not regimented. By this, several officers were removed, and others, who could be trusted, were

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use of what he had said than he intended, for he meant no more than so far as to get away from them upon this assurance which he gave them: but Sir A. Ashley told him that if he was sincere in what he said, he might presently remove all scruples if he would take away their commissions from such and such officers in his army, and give them to those whom he named, and that presently and before he went out of the room. Monk was in himself no quick man; he was guilty alone among a company of men who he knew not what they would do with him, for they all struck in with Sir A. Ashley, and plainly perceived that Monk had designed some foul play. In these straits, being thus close pressed and knowing not how else to extricate himself, he consented to what was proposed; and so immediately before he stirred, a great part of the commissions of his officers were changed; and Sir Edward Harley among the rest, who was a member of the council and there present, was made governor of Dunkirk in the room of Sir William Lockhart, and was sent away immediately to take possession of it; by which means the army ceased to be at Monk's devotion, and was put into hands that would not serve him in the design he had undertaken. The French ambassador, who had the night before sent away an express to Mazarine, positively to assure him that things went here as he desired, and that Monk was fixed by him in his resolution to take on himself the government, was not a little astonished the next day to find things taking another turn. And indeed this so much disgraced him in the French court, that he was presently called home, and soon after broke his heart."

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put in their places. As he chiefly influenced the council of state, who owed their being to him, they readily approved of it; and Monk could not dissent without renewing their jealousy.

and in the
navy.

Sir Anthony settled, likewise, with great assiduity, the establishment of the navy, the list of ships, and the several captains, with whose characters he was well acquainted. This he sent to his friend, Admiral Montague, (afterwards Earl of Sandwich,) for his approbation; who returned him the following answer:

“ SIR,

“ This evening I have received your commands concerning an establishment for the navy, which I shall obey as soon as possibly I can. I suppose it will necessarily require Monday’s and Tuesday’s time to inform myself and consider about it, after which you shall receive a further account from

“ Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ E. MONTAGUE.

“ Swiftsure, off Greenhive,

“ March 24, 1659-60.”

Sir Anthony, having taken these steps in relation to the army and the navy, obtained an order from the council of state,* that it should be referred to himself, Mr. Holles, and five others, or any three of them, to “inform themselves what officers, civil or military, in the Tower of London were dangerous, and not fit to be continued in a place of so much importance:” and a few days afterwards, other orders were issued out, giving a power “to remove from thence all such persons as were not actually employed in the service of the state.”

Sir Anthony, by thus remodelling the army and the navy, and securing the Tower, provided against any future relapse of General Monk. Monk saw this, and how ineffectual it would be for him now to attempt to oppose or obstruct the progress of the restoration. When, therefore, he found the current of affairs turning so strong that way, he had sufficient sagacity to fall in with it, and preserve, at least, the appearance of steering the vessel. The honour of bringing about this event was naturally enough ascribed to him,

A.D. 1660.
Orders relative to the Tower.

Monk favours the restoration.

* The original order, signed by John Rushworth, clerk of the council, is among Lord Shaftesbury's papers.

A.D. 1660. merely from his command, which made him the principal object in view.

Farther steps of the council of state.

The council of state took all the necessary steps for preserving the public peace. They published a proclamation for preventing tumults and disorders. They formed an engagement to be subscribed by the officers of the army, whereby these were to acquiesce in whatsoever should be done by the succeeding parliament; and such officers as refused to sign were immediately displaced, to make room for others, who were more complying. They likewise caused the act to be put in execution for electing members for the new parliament; and the people, being weary of the oppressions arising from so many changes of government, chose such representatives as were thought to be well inclined toward the restoration. These measures being taken by the council of state, the king, watchful to improve so favourable a crisis, sent Sir John Grenville from Breda with a declaration to be delivered to the parliament at their meeting.

Convention Parliament.

The new parliament met upon the five-and-twentieth day of April 1660. The lords chose the Earl of Manchester, and the commons Sir Harbottle Grimston, for their speakers. On the

1st of May, Sir John Grenville delivered the declaration, with a letter from the king to the house of lords, as likewise to the house of commons. In these were ample assurances of “a general pardon to all such as would lay hold of it within forty days, except those who should be excepted by the parliament; and a liberty was promised to tender consciences, and that none should be questioned for difference of opinion in matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom.” The two houses, the same day, voted that the government ought to be in king, lords, and commons.

A select committee, of which Sir Anthony was one, was appointed to draw up an answer to the king’s letter; and this answer was ordered to be kept by the clerk with such privacy, that no copy thereof might be taken by any person till it had been communicated to the king.⁵⁵ In this answer were contained thanks to the king for his esteem of parliaments, and his character of them,

⁵⁵ If by this it is intended to be conveyed that the committee drew up and sent the letter, it is incorrect, as it underwent considerable revision by the whole house. The superscription “To the King’s Most Excellent Majesty,” could only be placed by the express order of the house.

A.D. 1660. “that they were so necessary for the government of the kingdom, that neither prince nor people could be in any tolerable degree happy without them.” The commons vindicated the honour of the last parliament, and declared them innocent of King Charles the First’s murder; which they said was the act of a few ambitious and bloody persons. They said, that, after such an universal shaking of the foundations of government, great care must be had to repair the breaches; and much circumspection and industry used to provide things necessary for the strengthening of those repairs, and preventing whatsoever might disturb or awaken them: and since the king’s own judgment had prompted to him the necessity of making the kingdom happy, by the advancement of religion, the security of the laws, liberties, and estates of the people, and the removing all jealousies and animosities, they could not doubt of his effectual performance of those things. Two days afterwards, the following commissioners were chosen to be sent to Breda: viz. the Earls of Warwick, Oxford, and Middlesex, Lord Viscount Hereford, Lord Berkley, and Lord Brook, for the peers; Lord Fairfax, Lord Falkland, Lord Bruce, Lord Castleton, Lord Herbert, Lord Man-

deville, Sir Horatio Townshend, Sir Anthony A.D. 1660.
Ashley Cooper, Sir George Booth, Sir John Holland, Sir Henry Cholmly, and Denzil Holles, Esq., for the commons. These were ordered to present the humble invitation and supplication of the parliament, “That his majesty would be pleased to return, and take the government of the kingdom into his hands:” and on the 8th of May, the king was solemnly proclaimed, the speakers and members of both houses attending.

The king restored.

CHAPTER VII.

Sir Anthony made one of the new Privy Council.—Advanced to the Peerage.—His Generosity.—Conduct of Charles.—Dissolution of Parliament.—[Sir Anthony sits at the trial of the Regicides.]—The new Parliament assemble.—Their Proceedings.—Sale of Dunkirk.

A.D. 1660. **T**HE suddenness with which this restoration was brought about was surprising to the world, and it far exceeded the king's hopes; but, according to Mr. Locke, Sir Anthony had laid the plan of it some time before. This plan he had formed when all the forces who had appeared for the king were defeated, and when the court abroad and the royalists at home were totally dispirited. Sir Anthony's conduct accounts for that uncertainty with which Lord Clarendon and other historians confess Monk to have acted; who, it is evident, was turned and directed by his policy, and fixed by his resolution.

When Sir Anthony attended, with the other

commissioners, at Breda,⁵⁶ the king distinguished him in a particular manner; and told him, “he was very sensible with what zeal and application he had laboured for his restoration.” As a proof that the king sincerely thought so, Sir Anthony was one of the first persons admitted into the privy council. On the 9th of June 1660, he was made governor of the Isle of Wight,* and colonel of a regiment of horse. He was likewise made chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer, and was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorset. Even whilst the king was at Canterbury, before the coronation, he was created a baron, by the title of “Baron Ashley † of Win-

A.D. 1660.
Honours
conferred
upon Sir
Anthony.

* These two commissions, which are among Lord Shaftesbury's papers, are under the hand and seal of Monk, by virtue of an authority from the king: the last was probably for the regiment of horse which had been Fleetwood's, and was given to Sir Anthony by the parliament, March 27th.

† He chose this title pursuant to an article in the settlement upon his father's marriage with the only daughter of Sir Anthony Ashley, “That if Sir John Cooper or his heirs should come to be honoured with the degree of peerage, they should take that for their title.”—*Gibson's Camden*, i. 175.

⁵⁶ This was an unhappy journey for Sir Anthony. It was upon this occasion he received that serious injury, which grew into an abscess, and embittered the rest of his life. This accident has already been incidentally mentioned in the introduction, as the remote occasion of the earl's intimacy with Mr. Locke.

A.D. 1660. burn St. Giles.⁵⁷ In the preamble to his patent, the king farther acknowledged “the restoration to be chiefly owing to him ; and that, after many endeavours to free the nation from the evils in which it was involved, he at length, by his wisdom and counsels, in concert with General Monk, delivered it from the servitude under which it so long had groaned.”⁵⁸

These employments and honours were conferred on him without any application or secret addresses, and without his endeavouring to obtain any private articles for himself before the king’s coming over. Nay, from what passed between Sir Anthony and Monk previous to the Restoration, it is plain that he had insisted with Monk, that the king should be brought in upon proper

⁵⁷ This is a mistake : his name frequently occurs as Sir A. A. Cooper after this time, particularly in the commission for the trial of the regicides. The date of his patent of peerage is 20th April 1661, a few days before the meeting of the new parliament.

⁵⁸ Lord Clarendon attributes Sir Anthony’s appointment as privy counsellor to the special recommendation of Monk, and adds, that this honour was the rather conferred upon him because, “having lately married the niece of the Earl of Southampton, it was believed that his slippery humour would be easily restrained and fixed by the uncle.”—*Life of Clarendon by himself.*

A.D. 1660.

terms. This, however, was prevented by the con-flux of those who had little merit but in an abso-lute resignation to the crown, and who made the torrent too great to be resisted.

Though Lord Ashley had asked nothing for himself, yet, from the favour to which his services entitled him, he made one request to the king, which was a proof of the disinterestedness of his friendship and the generosity of his temper.

The great estate of the Wallop family having been forfeited at the Restoration, Lord Ashley exerted his interest with the king for a grant of it; and, when he might easily have obtained it for himself and his heirs, he only procured himself to be made a joint-sharer with three other persons of distinction, his particular friends, to whom the estate was granted for their lives, and to the survivor of them for ever. The whole management of it was left to Lord Ashley, but it was received and applied for the benefit of the family. On the 25th of June 1668, (one of the sharers being dead,) * he reconveyed his third part to the family, and four years afterwards, in July 1672, prevailed on the other two to follow his example;

Lord Ash-
ley's gene-
rous con-
duct to the
Wallop fa-
mily.

* The deeds of trust and among Lord Shaftesbury's conveyance are still extant papers.

A.D. 1660.

by which means an ancient and worthy family was preserved from ruin.

He does service to the Queen of Bohemia.

He did likewise some considerable service to the Queen of Bohemia and her family, who had suffered much for the protestant cause. This appears by a letter from the queen's eldest daughter, the Princess Elizabeth (sister to the Princess Sophia), who was distinguished for her merit and understanding. What the particular service was, is not mentioned; but he had probably exerted his interest in parliament in the queen's behalf immediately after the Restoration, when two sums, of ten thousand pounds each, were voted to be presented to her.

Contributes to the demolition of the court of wards.

Lord Ashley remembered how much he had suffered by the court of wards; the corruption and oppressions of which he perfectly well knew, the power it threw into the hands of the crown, and the mischiefs it produced to the liberty of the subject. The removing of this grievance was one of the first things taken into consideration, and chiefly by his interest,⁵⁹ before the king came

⁵⁹ This must rest upon some evidence among the private papers of the family, for Sir Anthony's name is not found among those who formed the committee for preparing these bills. It is indeed remarked in the Parliamentary History, that

over; and a bill for that purpose was brought in, A.D. 1660. and passed into an act, soon after the Restoration. If this measure had been delayed another year, it is probable that the king would not have relinquished such a support of absolute dominion; for he soon found the parliament more complying than his most sanguine hopes could ever have suggested.

Notwithstanding that the house of commons showed such an eagerness for the king's restoration, and gave such proofs of affection to him at his return, yet it could not be depended on to promote any extraordinary schemes of power; for many of the members had been in the parliament of 1640, and, though they were friends to monarchy, had been active to keep it within proper bounds. When, therefore, the first transports of their zeal and joy should subside, it might be naturally expected that they would revert to their old principles, and endeavour to preserve the true balance of the constitution. The court, it is plain, suspected this; but had too much art to discover the suspicion. The king, in all his

Views of
the court.

"Sir A. A. Cooper spoke against the court of wards, and for the excise;" but he is not at all mentioned as the originator, or even as an active supporter, of the measure.

A.D. 1660. speeches, was full of gentleness, mercy, and indulgence : he constantly expressed his obligations to perform his promise in the declaration from Breda ; " upon which," he said, " the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom entirely depended ; and which, if he had not made, he was persuaded, he had not been in England." He declared again, that no man should be disquieted for differences in opinion on matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom." He pressed the forwarding of an act of indemnity and oblivion ; " which," he said, " he would inviolably observe himself, and exact an observance of from others."

Parliament dissolved.

Yet, notwithstanding these and many popular expressions, he dissolved the parliament, the 29th of December, seven months after his restoration. The court believed that a new house of commons, chosen under the countenance of the king, would be more devoted to the crown ; and it was not disappointed. The people, who were charmed with the king's speeches, generally chose, in the hurry of their loyalty and zeal, such members as were in the extreme for prerogative and hierarchy ; and who, at the same time, were ambitious of preferment.

[The authors of this work have passed over in

silence an act that has been severely commented upon by almost all the writers of the period. It was in October of this year that the trial of the regicides took place ; and Sir Anthony's name was upon the commission of oyer and terminer by which they were tried. Sir John Dalrymple remarks, in his Review of Events after the Restoration, “ The most cruel circumstance in the trial of these persons was, that several of the popular party, of whom Ashley Cooper was one, sat as their judges, and doomed them to die for that rebellion to which they had incited them.” This is hardly true. These men were not doomed to die for the rebellion in which Sir Anthony had participated, but for the death of Charles,—an act which was brought about by a party whose violence Sir Anthony uniformly opposed. He had, however, subsequently acted with several of these men ; and his conduct in allowing his name to be placed upon this commission manifested great want of delicacy,—to say nothing of the disgrace which must attach to every man who sat upon these trials, for the barbarous and unconstitutional manner in which they were conducted. Sir Anthony seems to have been aware of the impropriety of his conduct, for he did not, like Mr.

A.D. 1660.

A.D. 1660. Denzil Holles, take any prominent part in the proceedings. This might lead us to suppose that he acted unwillingly, did we not find proof of his activity from other sources. It appears from Mr. Secretary Morrice's evidence upon Hacker's trial, that Sir Anthony, Mr. Annesley, and himself were the three who were deputed by the council to examine that person when he was brought over from Ireland. Upon their report, he was taken into custody, and afterwards tried and executed.]*

The want of settling proper terms with the king before the Restoration, as Lord Ashley had proposed to Monk, proved of the greatest ill consequence to the public, and laid the foundation for destroying the constitution more securely. From the king's despair of recovering the throne by his friends in England, and the neglect with which France and Spain had treated him, he would willingly have embraced any offers; but his restoration without conditions raised his notions of his own power and the weakness of the people to an exorbitant height. The court now formed the design of extending and confirming the power of the crown by means of the parliament, instead of acting, as formerly, contrary to

* State Trials, vol. v. col. 1181.

the sense of it; and the new house of commons, A.D. 1660. as was expected, fell blindly and precipitately into the scheme. The members seemed to act as if they thought that a negligence of the people's liberties was honourable to them. They were as willing to give as the king was to take, and more ready to strengthen and advance than to weaken or confine any branch of his prerogative.

The king, who knew their disposition, soon discovered his own: for, in his speech at the opening of the parliament, May the 8th, 1661, instead of recommending any indulgence to tender consciences, as promised in the declaration from Breda, he expressed himself as follows: “In God's name, provide full remedies for any future mischiefs. Be as severe as you will against new offenders, especially if they be so upon old principles; and pull up those principles by the roots.”*

The house of commons, intent upon obeying the king's commands, immediately passed several bills to enlarge and establish his power: among others, one for the safety and preservation of the king's person, by which it was made penal to say that the king was a papist, or intended to introduce popery; another to empower him to dis-

A.D. 1661.
New par-
liament.

Bills unfa-
vourable to
liberty.

* Journals.

A.D. 1661. pose of the land forces : a bill for the well governing and regulating corporations : a bill for the uniformity of public prayer : a bill declaring the sole right of the militia to be in the king, and for the present ordering and governing the same ; another against the quakers : and, to strike, indeed, at the roots of the principles of liberty, a bill was passed to restrain unlicensed printing.⁶⁰

Precipitation of the commons.

These bills went through the house of commons with great precipitation. The corporation bill was carried up to the lords July 6th, and the uniformity bill July 10th ; and the commons were so impatient, that, three days afterwards, on the 13th, they sent a message to the lords,* to put them in mind of the despatch of these two bills ; and on the 16th another message, for the despatch of the corporation bill : but the lords acted with more coolness and consideration than was agreeable either to the commons or the court.

Corporation bill.

By the corporation bill, the king was enabled to appoint such commissioners as he should think

* Lords' Journals.

⁶⁰ This house of commons began by voting that the solemn league and covenant should be burned by the common hangman, and that all their members should receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England upon a certain day.

fit, in all cities, corporations, boroughs, and cinque-ports; and it was enacted, that three or more of those commissioners should have proper power to tender to all mayors, aldermen, &c. and other persons, bearing any office, trust, or employment in corporations, the oaths of supremacy; and this following oath, viz. “I, A. B. do declare, and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king; and I do also abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him. So help me God.”

The commissioners, any five or more of them, had a power to remove or displace any such persons as the major part did not approve of, notwithstanding they had taken the oath as the law required.

This bill met with great opposition in the house of lords; particularly from the Earls of Southampton, Manchester, Bedford, Leicester, and Bollingbroke; Lords Holles, Townshend, Delamere, and Ashley; as it was forcing men to swear to a belief of what was repugnant to the constitution and the laws of nature. Lord Ashley set forth the ill consequences of the bill in various instances, viz. the injustice it might do to the wealthiest,

Opposed in
the house
of lords.

A.D. 1661. the most able, and the most conscientious members of their respective corporations : the fixing these in the hands of, perhaps, the most profligate persons in them ; at least, the dividing of the people into parties : and he showed that, as it would be a restraint upon those who had a regard to their oaths and their country, it was the most effectual method which could be contrived for lodging the executive power of the government in the hands of such persons as would make no difficulty of subjecting the whole nation to an absolute tyranny both of church and state.

Parliament adjourned.

The great spirit with which some of these bills were opposed by so many of the lords in employment, gave uneasiness to the projectors. The king, therefore, went to the parliament, on the 30th of July 1661, and told them, that “ he knew they had begun many bills which could not be finished till their meeting again ; and, that they might be finished then, he forbore to make this a sessions ; but was contented they should adjourn to the 20th of November :” a very unusual, if not unprecedented adjournment !

During the adjournment, reports were spread

of a plot* in several counties; and many were taken up on these reports, and committed to prison. When the house met, on the 20th of November 1661, the king told them, that “ he knew the visit he made them that day was not necessary, was not of course; yet, if there was no more in it, it would not seem strange that he came to see the lords spiritual and temporal † and the commons of England met together.” He took notice of “ the activity of many wicked instruments to disturb the public peace;” recommending it to the parliament “ to find proper remedies for such diseases, and to oblige all men to a proper submission;” and he concluded with recommending a good correspondence between the two houses.

Meets again.

* Rapin is evidently mistaken here; for he says, that, upon the sole foundation of this plot, (which he proves to be a contrivance of the court,) the corporation act and all the proceedings against the non-conformists were built; and that the project of the act of uniformity was now formed: whereas it appears by the Journals, that both these acts were

framed and sent to the lords before the adjournment, and before there was any suggestion of the plot. It is evident, that the rumours of the plot were only to persuade the public that there was a necessity of passing those laws, and to induce the lords to it.

† These were just restored to their seats.

A.D. 1661.

Proceedings of the parliament.

Committee to inquire into the plot.

A.D.
1661-2.

Upon the return of the commons to their house, Sir John Packington opened the scene, and declared that great numbers were taken up in his county for the plot. Others supported him, and said, “ Some laws must be made, both to bring the nonconformists under strict obedience or due punishment, and to secure the executive power of the government in such persons as should not question or dispute the commands of the prince.” A committee of both houses was appointed to examine into the plot; and they had power to sit during the adjournments of parliament. They made a strict inquiry, but as there appeared no foundation for the reports, the public were much alarmed at their power; and, therefore, on the 7th of January 1661-2, (the first day of the parliament’s meeting after the Christmas holydays,) Lord Clarendon reported to the house of lords,* “ that the committee of both houses had met several times during the adjournment, and considered of the business referred to them; but, finding some imaginary jealousies of the end and intent of the committee’s meeting, they had come to no resolutions, but thought fit to leave the busi-

* Lords’ Journals.

ness to both houses." Upon this, the lords immediately demanded a conference with the commons, and declared the committee dissolved. The noise of the plot was, however, kept up for some time; but it dropped without the prosecution of one single person, as soon as the uniformity bill was passed by the lords.

In this was the same oath as in the corporation bill. It went very slowly and with great difficulty through the house of lords; which alarmed the commons so much that, on the 16th of December, they sent a message to the lords to put them in mind of it; as likewise of the corporation bill, the bill concerning quakers, and the bill concerning printing. The corporation bill, after a warm debate, was passed, and received the royal assent the 20th of that month. On the 28th of January 1661-2, the lords received another message from the commons, to remind them of the uniformity bill: but this bill was warmly debated, and strongly opposed, as being repugnant to the king's declaration from Breda. The lords made several amendments to it, and declared that the king ought to adhere to his promise of liberty to tender consciences. But the commons, in a conference with the lords

A.D.
1661-2.

Uniformity
bill.

A.D.
1661-2.

upon the amendments, said, that “the king could not, in that engagement, understand the misleaders of the people, but the misled; that it would be very strange to call a schismatical conscience a tender conscience; that a tender conscience denoted an impression from without, received from another, and that upon which another strikes.”* This was a construction unworthy of a school, much more of a house of commons; and it was made only to support a shameful elusion of a royal promise, given under a parliamentary sanction. The Earl of Southampton and Lord Ashley were remarkably strenuous against several clauses; and the former, being told “that it was believed he had spoken three hundred times against the bill,” answered, “that he was so firmly persuaded of the fatal consequences of it, that he would have spoken three hundred times more to have prevailed.”

Scheme to
erect a new
court like
the Star-
chamber.

While this bill was depending in the house of lords, an attempt was made in that house to strengthen the hands of the king, by erecting a court like the Star-chamber. This name was still distasteful to the people, who had not forgotten the oppressions and injustice of that

* Lords' Journals.

A. D.
1661-2.

court. It was, therefore, thought proper to establish a new one, and under the authority of parliament: for, on the 8th of February 1661-2, a committee (which had been appointed to consider of a bill for repealing all the acts made in the parliament which began on the 3rd of November 1640) reported to the house, “that they were of opinion that it was fit for the good of the nation that there should be a court of like nature to the court called the Star-chamber; but they desired the advice and direction of the house in the following particulars :

“Firstly. Who should be judges.

“Secondly. What matters they should judge of.

“Thirdly. By what manner of proceedings they should act.”*

But notwithstanding their unreasonable loyalty, the commons were not prepared to reconstruct this engine of oppression; these questions were never resolved by the house, and the scheme proved abortive. This parliament was particularly distinguished by its bitter hostility against the nonconformists.

A bill now passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords, for regulating the forces in the

Bill to re-gulate the forces.

* Lords' Journals.

A. D.
1661-2.

several counties of the kingdom. By this bill, the lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, &c. were obliged to take the same oath as mentioned in the corporation act,⁶¹ with the addition of these words : “ In pursuance of such military commissions.” This bill (which, as an author* observes, was to establish a standing army by law, and swear us into a military government) was, likewise, vigorously opposed by the Earl of Southampton, Lord Ashley, and other lords. The committee to whom it was referred, and of which Lord Ashley was one, reported their opinion, that the clause with the oath should be omitted ; but it was carried in the house for the clause by two votes. The lords had several conferences with

* A Letter from a Person of Country.—*Locke's Posthumous Quality to his Friend in the Works.*

⁶¹ The oath prescribed by the corporation act was as follows :—“ I do swear that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king ; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions, and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in church or state.”

“ The doctrine of non-resistance,” observes Mr. Hallam, “ had now crept from homilies into the statute-book.”

A. D.
1661-2.

the commons upon amendments which had been made to this bill: and in these conferences Lord Ashley was constantly a manager; as were the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Wharton, and Lord Holles.

Thus early was the design laid, and carried A.D. 1662. into execution, for investing the king with undue power, and restraining the liberty of the subject. Few laws were passed but what conveyed an additional strength to the prerogative. Lord Ashley, in his opposition to these, acted upon the same principles which he always maintained; and if, when he was chancellor of the exchequer, he opposed the arbitrary designs of the court in parliament, it cannot be doubted but that he acted with the same spirit in council. One instance of this will appear in the following account of the sale of Dunkirk.

At the close of the session of parliament, May 19th, 1662, in the speech delivered by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the great importance of Dunkirk was set forth in the following remarkable words:*

“Whoever unskilfully murmurs at the expense of Dunkirk, and the other new acquisitions, which ought to be looked upon as jewels of an

Account of
the sale of
Dunkirk.

* Lords' Journals.

A.D. 1662. immense magnitude in the royal diadem, does not enough remember what we have lost by Dunkirk, and shall always do, if it were in an enemy's hands."

Lord Clarendon's conduct in that affair.

This must have been said only to amuse the public; for, notwithstanding that Lord Clarendon expressed so right a sense of the great advantage of Dunkirk to the crown of England, he soon after advised the king to sell it to the French; and, even in the next month, he sent one Mr. Bellings,* (in whom he put an entire confidence,) to the Count d'Estrades, who had lately been ambassador in England, to open the affair.

On the 27th of July following, the count, who was at Calais, in his journey on an embassy

* This Mr. Bellings had been intrusted by Lord Aubigny, two years before the Restoration, to propose to King Charles the sending of the Duke of Gloucester to Rome,⁶² to be instructed in the Roman catholic religion. After the fate of Dunkirk, he was sent

to Rome,† to solicit a cardinal's hat for Lord Aubigny.

Monsieur,

Faisant souvent reflection sur quelques particularitez des conferences que nous avons euës ensemble, et trouvant le roi mon maître dans la dispo-

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 740, 744.

⁶² This mission to the pope formed one of the articles of impeachment exhibited by the splenetic Earl of Bristol against Clarendon.

to Holland, received a letter * from King Charles, A.D. 1662. and another from Lord Clarendon, inviting him to come over without delay into England. The king told him it was to settle an affair which the chancellor had proposed, and that he had ordered his brother's yacht to attend him. Count d'Estrades immediately came over; and Lord Clarendon, without the consent of the privy council, directly proposed to him the sale of Dunkirk, with all its artillery, ammunition, and dependencies. He informed the count that “the first thought of this treaty came from him; that it proceeded from the necessity of

His nego-
tiation with
d'Estrades.

sition de donner toutes sortes de preuves du desir qu'il a d'etreindre le nœud de l'amitié qu'il a avec sa majesté tres chretienne, je fais entreprendre ce voyage à Mons. Bellings, que vous sçavez être dans ma confidence, pour vous communiquer mes sentimens. Je vous prie de lui ajoûter foi, et de croire que je suis tres véritablement, Monsieur, &c.

LE COMTE DE CLARENDON.
—*Lettre de M. le Comte de Clarendon à Mons. le Comte d'Estrades, de Hampton Court, le 29 Juin 1662, p. 279.*

Je dois faire remarquer à

vôtre majesté, que Mons. Bellings a eu beaucoup de part dans toute la conduite de cette negociation, et j'estime qu'elle trouvera juste quelque marque de sa bonté; si elle jugeoit à propos d'en charger mon courier, je la lui donnerois devant que de partir d'ici, et aussi avant qu'il parte pour Rome, où il va soliciter le chapeau pour M. d'Aubigny, et rendre l'obedience de la Reine d'Angleterre. — *Lettres du Comte d'Estrades au Roi, de Londres, le 27 Octobre 1662, p. 359.*

* D'Estrades' Memoirs, pp. 280, 281.

A.D. 1662. affairs in England ; and that no one else was of his opinion but the king and the Duke of York.”* Lord Clarendon could only mean the necessity of the king’s private affairs ; for the parliament had liberally and cheerfully given whatever the king could expect for his support and the exigencies of the government. But whether he alluded to the weakness of the state, or of the king, it was a discovery highly unjustifiable for a chancellor and minister to make to a foreign power, and extremely imprudent in carrying on a bargain with that power.

When this necessity was urged by Lord Clarendon to Monk, (now Duke of Albemarle,) the Earls of Southampton and Sandwich, as an argument for the council’s approving the sale, they wisely answered, that there was † “ an expedient

* A tout cela le chancelier ajoutoit, que la pensée de ce traité étoit venuë de lui; qu'il ne me deguisoit point que la nécessité des affaires d'Angleterre la lui avoit donnée :⁶³ qu'il étoit seul dans ce sentiment avec le Roi et M. le Duc d'York. — *Lettre du Comte*

d'Estrades au Roi, de Londres, le 17 Août 1662, p. 286.

† Ils avoient offert un expédient pour la conserver et pour soulager le roi de cette dépense, qui étoit de remettre cette place sous l'autorité du parlement, qui en avoit été séparée jusqu'à présent, parce

⁶³ But he adds, “ Mais qu'elle ne pouvoit l'obliger à faire un méchant marché.”

to keep the place, and ease the king of the expense of maintaining it, which was to put Dunkirk under the authority of parliament; by which the public would always be charged with the expenses of supporting it, and the king, nevertheless, would remain master of it.”

Lord Clarendon told the count, (in order to raise the terms of the sale,) “that if the parliament, at their meeting, should approve of this expedient, there would be no returning to such a treaty as had been proposed; for which reason there was no other time to do it, but during the recess of parliament.”⁶⁴

Lord Clarendon acquainted the count, at another conference, that* “necessity only obliged the

qu'en ce cas il se chargeroit de toutes ses dépenses, et le roi n'en seroit pas moins le maître : que si cela arrivoit et que l'on fût forcé d'accepter cet expédient, il n'y avoit plus de retour pour un traité comme celui qui se proposoit ; pour lequel il n'y avoit que l'inter-

valle à prendre de la séparation du parlement.—*D^o le 17 Août, 1662*, p. 286.

* Il me redit encore, que la seule nécessité obligeoit le roi son maître à cette affaire de Dunkerque ; qu'il n'avoit pas craint dès le commencement de me faire cette confidence,

⁶⁴ Louis seems to have been very little troubled by any apprehension of such a course being pursued. He tells D'Estrades, that Charles had already seen too much of parliaments to think of making any increase to their power.

A.D. 1662. king to part with Dunkirk ; that, as from the beginning he had no fear of putting this confidence in him, he would treat with him as a friend of the King of England, and minister of a great prince his ally, whom he would not in the least distrust. That, in one or the other quality, he would own to him, that he had the choice of four expedients in this affair : the first was to treat with Spain, which had already made vast offers for the place ; the second was to treat with the Dutch, who would give immense sums for it ; the third was to put it in the hands of the parliament, who would charge themselves with the expense, and leave the government of it in the king ; and the fourth was to agree with the King of France ; which last had appeared to him most

parce qu'il traitoit avec moi comme avec un ami du Roi d'Angleterre, et le ministre d'un grand prince son allié, duquel il ne se méfioit pas ; qu'en l'une et l'autre qualité il m'avoueroit qu'il avoit quatre expédiens à prendre sur l'affaire qu'il m'avoit proposée. Le premier, de traiter avec les Espagnols, qui lui faisoient présentement tout offrir pour cette place. Le deuxième, avec les Hollandois, qui en

donneroient des sommes immenses. Le troisième, de la remettre entre les mains du parlement, qui se chargeroit de toutes ses dépenses, et qui laisseroit pourtant au roi la même autorité qu'il y a à présent : et le quatrième, d'accorder votre majesté ; que ce dernier lui paroisse plus juste, et plus convenable aux intérêts du roi son maître. — *Lettre du Comte d'Estrades au Roi, de Londres, le 21 Août 1662*, p. 302.

just and most for the interest of the king his master." A.D. 1662.

He afterwards said,* " it was his opinion, after all, that a present should be made of it to the French king, and the recompense left to his liberality ; but, as he had not the sole direction, and was obliged, for his own sake, to conduct himself carefully in so delicate an affair, he was under a necessity of concealing his own sentiments, and seeming to adhere to those of others, that he might not be thought the principal promoter of the treaty."

All the rest of the council, except the Duke of York, were against the sale. It is evident, therefore, that by Lord Clarendon's care to conceal his own sentiments, and his seeming to be of theirs, the king was to be looked on as the great mover of the treaty, in order to screen the chancellor : an unworthy artifice in a minister, to put his prince upon a wrong and unnatural action, and shelter

The coun-
cil oppose
the sale of
Dunkirk.

* Que son sentiment avoit été après cela d'en faire un présent à vôtre majesté, et de laisser dépendre la récompense de sa libéralité. Mais que comme il n'étoit pas le maître et qu'il avoit un notable intérêt de se ménager dans une

affaire si délicate que celle-ci, il étoit obligé de cacher ses sentiments, et de paroître adhérer à ceux des autres, afin de n'être pas pris pour le principal promoteur du traité.—*D^o le 21 Août 1662, p. 303.*

A.D. 1662. himself, at the same time, under the opinion of those who opposed it.⁶⁵

The treaty
carried on.

Lord Clarendon had before told the Count d'Estrades, that “he would not lay any great stress on the offers made by the King of Spain; because the king had rejected them purely from his ardent desire to enter into a close alliance with his master.” *

The French king, though he was impatient to be in possession of Dunkirk, and showed the Count d'Estrades his unwillingness that it should continue in the hands of England, † affected, as did his minister likewise, a great coolness in the transactions; whilst, from his knowledge of King Charles's necessities, he reduced him to very low

* Qu'il ne me vouloit point faire valoir les offres que fai-
soit l'Espagne là-dessus, parce que le roi son maître les avoient toutes rejettées, dans la passion qu'il avoit de se lier étroitement avec vôtre ma-
jesté.—*Lettre du Comte d'Estrades au Roi, de Londres, le 17 Août 1662*, p. 287.

† Pour mon intérêt la dite place seroit mieux entre les mains des Espagnols, ou des Hollandois, ou démolie, qu'elle n'est présentement, pour plu-
sieurs raisons qu'il est super-
flu de dire.—*Lettre du Roi à Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, de St. Germain en Laye, le 27 Août*, p. 310.

⁶⁵ It appears very clearly from Clarendon's writings, particu-
larly where he speaks of his own impeachment, that he had no idea of the responsibility of the ministers of the crown, as we now understand that responsibility.

terms in the sale. At the same time, he pursued his point every way, by engaging the Duke of York in his interest, and by presents* to the duchess, Lord Clarendon's daughter.⁶⁶ Lord Clarendon, being apprehensive, from the seeming coolness of the French king and Count d'Estrades, and from the low offers made by them, that they did not set a just value on Dunkirk, † “endeavoured to make the count sensible of the great importance of the place, with regard both to its situation and harbour, by which it had acquired so great a name ; and he magnified the advantages

* Count d'Estrades' Mémoirs, p. 315.

† Là-dessus il s'étendit encore à me faire voir l'importance de cette place, par sa situation et ses ports, qui lui avoient acquis dans les tems passés une si grande réputation ; et à m'exaggrer les

avantages que vôtre majesté en pouvoit tirer, s'il arrivoit jamais qu'elle eût quelque dessein à pousser ses conquêtes dans la Flandre.—*Lettre du Comte d'Estrades au Roi, de Londres, le 21 Août 1662*, p. 303.

⁶⁶ The corruption of our days, however gross it may be, affords no parallel to the open and every-day practice of this period. This present—D'Estrades does not inform us what it was—was offered to the duchess as she returned from church with her husband. The duke very much admired it, and the lady exhibited it with great satisfaction at court. One of the ordinary annual items of Charles's expenditure was 10,000*l.* in presents to foreign ambassadors.—*Dalrymple*.

A.D. 1662. which the French king would draw from thence, if he should have any design to push his conquests in Flanders." It is surprising that any Englishman, much more that a minister of state, who had the least suspicion of the French king's designs upon Flanders, should promote such a sale, and even use that as an argument to induce him to be a purchaser.

Commiss-
sioners ap-
pointed.

On the 1st of September, a commission was signed by the king, empowering Lord Clarendon, the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Albermarle, and the Earl of Sandwich, to adjust, conclude, and sign the treaty with the Count d'Estrades for the sale of Dunkirk and its dependencies; but the three last, and the rest of the council, strenuously opposed the sale, and threw all the difficulties they could in the way. Count d'Estrades informed his master, in a letter dated October 27th, 1662, the day the treaty was signed, that * "the chancellor had a great deal to bear with during the contest which had been raised

* Je ne dois pas ométre que le chancelier est celui de tous qui a eu le plus à souffrir pendant les contestations qui ont été formées par tout le conseil sur cette affaire. Les commissaires sont ceux qui ont

le plus travaillé à la rompre, et l'on peut dire que les raisons alleguées pour cela ont été si fortes, que le Roi d'Angleterre et Monsieur le Duc d'York en auroient été ebranlez s'il n'a voit pris soin de les maintenir

by all the council, and especially by the three commissioners joined with him: that they had urged such reasons against the treaty, that even the king and the Duke of York would have been staggered with them, if the Lord Clarendon had not taken care to confirm them in the first resolution: that he was now looked upon as the sole author of the treaty: that his enemies and all the Spanish cabal attacked him upon his conduct in

dans les premières résolutions. Cela a paru presque à toute la cour, et de là je pris mon occasion de m'en prendre à lui comme au seul auteur du traité. Ses ennemis et toute la cabale d'Espagne ont attaqué là-dessus sa conduite, et proné hautement que comme elle avoit été mal entendue sur le mariage du Portugal, en ce qu'il avoit été fait sans s'assurer auparavant de la protection de la France, de même il paroisoit imprudent en cette occasion, parce qu'il abandonnoit Dunkerque sans auparavant être assuré de cette liaison étroite qu'il se vantoit que devoit produire ce traité avec votre majesté; que quand la France se verroit maîtresse de cette place sans aucune stipulation d'engagement particulier avec l'An-

gleterre, elle ne se tiendroit obligée qu'à des bienseances qui ne l'embarqueroient à rien; que comme son intérêt seul l'avoit engagé à la première affaire pour se venger du mauvais traitement qu'il avoit recu des Espagnols, et de la crainte où il étoit d'être supplanté par leur cabale, aussi la seule considération et l'intérêt qu'il trouvoit à s'appuyer de la France lui faisoit oublier les veritables intérêts du roi son maître, et lui faire sacrifier pour cela une place qui valoit plus pour la réputation de l'Angleterre, et pour sa considération à l'égard des étrangers, que toute l'Irlande.—*Lettre du Comte d'Estrades au Roi, de Londres, le 27 Oct. 1662,* p. 352.

A.D. 1662. this affair ; and talked openly, that, having made great mistakes in the king's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, which had been concluded without any assurance beforehand of assistance from France, he had in like manner been as imprudent on this occasion, because he had abandoned Dunkirk, without being certain of that strict alliance he boasted this treaty would produce : that when the French king should become master of Dunkirk, without any stipulation or particular engagement with England, he would not think himself obliged to anything more than a common show of civility, which would not bind him to anything : that, as it was the chancellor's interest which had engaged him in the first affair, that he might be revenged for the ill treatment he had received from Spain, and his fear of being supplanted by the Spanish cabal ; it was likewise this consideration, and his own advantage, which made him apply to France, forgetting the true interest of the king his master, and sacrificing a place which, with regard to the honour of England and her foreign concerns, was of more value than even Ireland.”

The Count d'Estrades, in the same letter, told his master, that “this extraordinary proceeding

had convinced him that the King of England was A.D. 1662.
absolutely bent upon gaining his friendship ; that
he knew it was useful to him ; that the chancellor
had kept him warm in this opinion, for his own
particular interest ; and that for this reason chiefly,
the Duke of York would visit his majesty at
Dunkirk, to give the more strong assurances of
his regard to him ; that he believed the duke
would be intrusted by the chancellor with some
advice, which would not prejudice the designs his
majesty might form in time against Flanders.”*

After the treaty was signed,† and publicly known, the clamours against it were very great, not only among the ministry, but the people. The principal part of the merchants of London

The treaty
greatly dis-
liked.

*’ Ce procédé extraordinaire me persuadoit que le Roi d’Angleterre veut absolument l’amitié de vôtre majesté ; qu’il connoit qu’elle lui est utile ; que le chancelier l’échauffe à cela même pour son intérêt particulier ; et que c’est pour cette seule raison principalement que Monsieur le Duc d’York vient voir vôtre majesté à Dunkerque, pour lui en faire de plus fortes protestations ; et je crois qu’il sera chargé par le chancelier de

quelques avis, qui ne nuiront pas aux desseins qu’elle pourra avec le tems former sur la Flandre.—*Lettre du Comte d’Estrades au Roi, de Londres, 27 Oct. 1662, p. 353.*

† Après que le traité a été signé, M. le Chancelier me dit, que le bruit étoit plus grand que jamais dans la cour et parmi le peuple ; que vôtre majesté oublieroit aisement le désir que le Roi d’Angleterre avoit eu de l’obliger, quand elle se verroit en possession de Dun-

A.D. 1662. went up to Whitehall with complaints that it would become a nest of pirates. The chancellor told the Count d'Estrades, "that it was publicly said, that the French king, when once in possession of Dunkirk, would easily forget the desire which the King of England had shown of obliging him: that this had raised great complaints against him, which had given him to understand that the king would neither be supported by the parliament nor his people in case the affair should produce any commotions;" and he told the Count d'Estrades, "that, as he had the greatest part in the management of it, he should chiefly bear the blame, and, perhaps, find his master the first to reproach him: that to secure himself from this, he should be extreme-

kerque, et que cela avoit déjà excité des murmures contre lui; qu'ils lui faisoient même entendre, qu'il ne recevroit aucun secours du parlement ni de ses peuples en cas que cette affaire vint à produire quelque désordre en Angleterre; et que comme il y avoit plus de part que personne, il en recevroit aussi le plus grand blâme, et peut être le premier reproche du roi son maître; que pour le mettre à couvert de cette

crainte, il seroit infiniment obligé à votre majesté, si elle vouloit lui écrire une lettre, pour lui temoigner un honnête ressentiment de la manière obligeante dont il en avoit usé, et en même tems venir à des offres civiles sur toutes les suites fâcheuses que pourroit avoir cette affaire, qui n'engageroient à rien, mais qui ne laisseroient pas de produire un bon effet.—D^o. le 27 Oct. 1662, p. 359.

ly obliged to the King of France if he would write a letter testifying the kind sense which he had of his conduct, and if he would send, at the same time, civil offers of assistance in case of any unhappy consequences ; offers, which would not oblige the French king to do anything, but could not fail of producing a good effect."

The French king, in compliance with Lord Clarendon's request, wrote two letters,* to the King of England and the chancellor, to that purpose. By this means Charles might have been plunged in the greatest difficulties ; for, if any commotions had happened in the nation, he might have been induced to trust to these offers, and would probably have been deceived.

This transaction was carried on during the interval of parliament, contrary to the opinion of the whole council,† and the inclination of the people. It was begun soon after the recess of parliament, and hurried into a conclusion before the next meeting ; as if purposely to pre-

The hasty manner of carrying it on.

* Vide D'Estrades' Memoirs, pp. 391, 392.

et le chancelier.—*Lettre du Comte d'Estrades au Roi, de Londres, le 6 Novem. 1662,* p. 366.

† J'ai trouvé tout le monde à combattre pour cela, hormis le Roi, Monsieur le Duc d'York,

A.D. 1662. vent the parliament's obstructing the sale, and annexing Dunkirk to the crown; for which a bill had been resolved on, and carried through the house of commons. Indeed, as the parliament had given the king money for supporting it, it could not properly be disposed of without their consent during sitting. Lord Ashley opposed the sale in the most strenuous manner.

Lord Ash-
ley opposed
the sale of
Dunkirk,

He well knew the high importance of Dunkirk; he had already given a proof of the estimation in which he held it just before the Restoration; for when Monk, to prevent Lord Ashley's discovery of his designs in council, made the concessions which we have before mentioned, and declared his readiness to do anything to show the sincerity of his intentions, the first care of Lord Ashley was to provide a proper governor for Dunkirk; and he procured his friend, Sir Edward Harley, to be nominated. Immediately after the Restoration, upon the king's telling Sir Edward Harley, that he had no mind to part with Dunkirk, and therefore thought proper it should be annexed to the crown, a bill was passed in the convention parliament for that purpose. When Sir Edward afterwards found that it was to be sold, he could not, either by en-

treaties or rewards, be induced to have any concern in the sale. Another person was therefore appointed to succeed him, in order to deliver it up, and Sir Edward returned to England; where, when he told the king “that the place was sold for no more than the artillery and ammunition were worth,” the king expressed his surprise at it.⁶⁷

A.D. 1662.
and Sir Edward Har-
ley.

This transaction proved, in its consequences, of infinite prejudice. Spain and Holland grew jealous that King Charles would be closely attached to the interest of France,—and from this crisis he became so; whilst England for a trifle, of no benefit to the public, lost a place which would have been a great security to her navigation, and which has always been a fatal rock to her trade, in every war with France.

The perni-
cious effects
of selling it.

As soon as the French king was in possession of Dunkirk, he made it a free port, and took all imaginable methods for enlarging the trade and navigation of France; and, being intent upon increasing his navy, which before was inconsider-

Dunkirk
made a free
port.

⁶⁷ Unfortunately for Sir Edward's fame, it appears from the Dalrymple Papers, that in 1678, “Harlie, ci-devant gouverneur de Dunquerque,” received 300 guineas from Barillon, Louis the Fourteenth's ambassador.

A.D. 1662. able, he commanded supernumerary seamen to be put on board the French trading ships, and trained up at his own charge, in order to supply his men-of-war. Thus Lord Clarendon, by this hasty and unwarrantable sale, contributed as much to the greatness of France, by making her a maritime power, as Cromwell had done before, in supporting her interest against the crown of Spain.

Lord Clarendon loses
the good opinion of
the public.

The sale of Dunkirk justly exasperated the minds of the people, especially the trading part; and Lord Clarendon being known to be the author of it, soon lost his credit with the public: and for want of this, in concurrence with other reasons, he afterwards lost his interest with the king.

CHAPTER VIII.

Obsequiousness of the Parliament.—Effects of the Uniformity Act.—Lord Ashley appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer.—His zeal and exertions in the execution of the duties of his new office.—War declared against Holland.—[Bill for granting Indulgences to Nonconformists.]—Severe Measures against the Nonconformists.—Five-mile Act.—Policy of France.—Shaftesbury's perception of character—useful to him as a Minister.—His Character of the Hon. William Hastings.—Breach with Hamburgh.—Peace with Holland.

WHEN the parliament met, on the 18th of February 1662-3, the commons proceeded in the same steps as in the former session. With the same obsequiousness, they received the dictates of the throne for the guide of their actions. Every sense of liberty was sunk in adulation; and, as if the abuse of freedom had rendered them weary of the blessing, they seemed ready to make a voluntary surrender of it. To strengthen the hands of the crown against themselves, a bill was passed, intitled, “An additional act for ordering the forces of the kingdom;” and thereby they

A. D.
1662-3.

Meeting of
parliament.
Obsequious
to the
court.

A. D.
1662-3.

established a military power, under the sanction of parliament.

Parliament
of Scotland
equally ob-
sequious.

The parliament of Scotland likewise, as if to vie with them in servility, passed an act called “the loyal offer;” whereby that nation engaged themselves to have twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, sufficiently armed and furnished with forty days’ provision, to be in readiness, when called for by the king, to march to any part of his dominions of Scotland, England, or Ireland, in case either of foreign invasion or intestine troubles; “or for any other service wherein his majesty’s honour, authority, or greatness might be concerned.”

Bad effects
of the uni-
formity act.

In the speech which had been delivered by the lord chancellor, at the king’s passing the act of uniformity, May the 19th, 1662, there were unusual expressions of asperity against the nonconformists; and the houses were told, “it was great reason that they, upon whom clemency could not prevail, should feel that severity they had provoked.” Near two thousand ministers were ejected from their livings the next St. Bartholomew’s day. The rigour which the presbyterians suffered in consequence of this act, divided the

protestant interest, and raised great discontents in the kingdom.* The king “had promised the presbyterians, that he would either not pass the act, or procure a particular exemption for them. After the act was passed, they addressed the king and council for a dispensation from the penalties annexed to it. This petition would doubtless have been rejected, if the king had not signified to the council the obligation he was under to grant the request.”

A. D.
1662-3.

An attempt
to soften its
penalties.

In the beginning of January, he published a declaration, in which, after an assurance of his firm adherence to the act of uniformity, he said, “for the sake of others, he was willing to dispense with some matters in it:” and, in his speech to the parliament, February 18th, 1662-3, he told them, “he could heartily wish that he had such a power of indulgence to use upon occasions, as might not needlessly force the dissenters out of the kingdom; or, staying here, give them cause to conspire against the peace of it.” Upon this encouragement from the king, and to compose the minds of the dissenters, whose numbers made them considerable, Lord Roberts (lord

* Rapin.

A. D.
1662-3.
Bill for that
purpose.

privy seal) on the 22nd of February, brought in a bill * concerning the king's power in ecclesiastical affairs ; in which was a clause, “to enable the king to dispense, by letters patent under the great seal, with the act of uniformity, or the penalties in the said law imposed ; or any other laws and statutes requiring oaths and subscriptions :” and the attorney-general was ordered to bring in a list of all those acts and oaths to which the said enacting clause related.

Upon reading this list, it was found that a greater latitude would be given in favour of the papists than was intended ; and, therefore, the following general words, “or any other laws and statutes requiring oaths and subscriptions,” were immediately ordered to be omitted. As, when these words were struck out, the bill could give relief to none but protestant dissenters, and would only invest the crown with a legal power of remitting penalties, (an amiable branch of the prerogative ! from which the subject could have nothing to apprehend,) it was supported by the Earl of Manchester, (lord chamberlain,) Lord Ashley, and several other lords. The Earl of

* Lords' Journals.

Clarendon was detained from the house, at that time, by illness; but on the 13th of March he appeared there, and warmly opposed the bill, which Lord Ashley with as much vigour supported. Lord Ashley took notice of the fatal consequences of the act of uniformity: that by it great numbers of ministers were reduced to beggary; that many protestants were running into other countries, to the prejudice of trade and the dishonour of the kingdom: that the reformers in King Edward the Sixth's reign had acted in a different manner; for they had, like wise and good men, contrived the doctrine and discipline of the church so as to enlarge the terms of community; that they had set open the doors, and, by gentle means, persuaded and invited all they could into the church, thinking that the enlargement of their body would redound to the honour of their religion. Lord Ashley, however; and the other advocates for the bill, could not prevail. It was dropped in silence; which was chiefly owing to a resolution of the house of commons, "that it should be presented to his majesty, as the humble advice of that house, that no indulgence be granted to the dissenters

A.D.
1662-3.

Opposed by
Lord Clarendon.

Supported
by Lord
Ashley.

The bill
dropped.

A.D.
1662-3.

from the act of uniformity." At the same time, the king was attended by the speaker and the whole house, with an address to recall his declaration of indulgence, and with reasons why the dissenters ought not to insist upon his declaration from Breda, or claim any right from that to an indulgence.

Lord Clarendon's narrow politics.

The commons were under the influence of Lord Clarendon, who carried his notions both of the prerogative of the crown and the power of the church to a great height. By several laws which he promoted, he advanced the former to an unconstitutional extent ; but by injudicious endeavours to extend the latter, he considerably weakened the protestant interest. By his measures those distinctions were preserved which have been ever since so prejudicial to the nation, and which the welfare of the public made necessary to be removed. The Restoration gave the king a proper opportunity of uniting the people both in religion and politics; and the contending parties would have settled into temper, if an equal conduct had been maintained towards them by the crown. This would certainly have been right in point of prudence; and by the declaration from Breda, it was become as obligatory as it was just. But a

A.D.
1662-3.

narrow, ill-judged policy prevailed : every step was taken that could divide, inflame, and weaken the people ; and the interests of the prince and his subjects were considered as two different and opposite objects.

Lord Clarendon's apprehensions of danger from the dissenters rendered him an advocate for all the penal laws against them, and thus (notwithstanding his being himself a protestant) he opened the door for popery, by causing such a wide breach among the protestants : for the king (though it was not then known) intended to favour the papists, and to shelter them under the indulgence which the severity of penal laws might sometimes make necessary to be granted to non-conformists.

Lord Ashley was an enemy to every degree of persecution ; and thought that the distressing of the dissenters was an error in politics, as well as in humanity. He acted, therefore, upon these points, in a different manner from Lord Clarendon ; and this opposition in their conduct and principles kept them always at variance.

Clarendon and Ashley were not men who could long act together with cordial feeling : they not only differed in their views of the measures dis-

Ld. Ashley
an enemy to
persecution.

Lord Cla-
rendon and
Lord Ash-
ley jealous
of each
other.

A.D.
1662-3.

cussed in the council chamber, but each had, in addition, private causes to distrust the other. Lord Clarendon was jealous of Lord Ashley's friendship with Lord Southampton, and thought that he had influenced the latter in his conduct concerning the penal laws against the nonconformists: Lord Ashley, on the other hand, had likewise entertained some jealousy of Lord Clarendon upon account of his daughter's marriage with the Duke of York, whose sentiments upon the subject of religion were now becoming pretty generally suspected, and whose strong ideas as to government had never been concealed.

Close connexion between Lord Southampton and Ld. Ashley.

As, both by alliance and a conformity of sentiments, there was the closest friendship between Lord Southampton and Lord Ashley, they, in almost all parliamentary transactions, concurred in the same measures; and though they held employments of such profit and distinction, did not think themselves under a necessity of supporting all the designs of the court, but often acted in opposition to them.

Lord Southampton, who was one of the most distinguished men of the age for his probity and public spirit, had been made lord treasurer at the Restoration. Lord Ashley, at the same time,

was appointed under-treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer; and as Lord Southampton was much afflicted with the stone, and therefore incapable of supporting the fatigue of that great office himself, he left the care of it chiefly to Lord Ashley,* in whom he placed entire confidence.

Upon Lord Ashley's taking upon himself the office of chancellor of the exchequer, he employed himself diligently in obtaining information which might enable him to discharge with fidelity the duties he had assumed. His first effort was an accurate inquiry into the state of the department that had been assigned to him. From the confu-

A. D.
1662-3.

Lord
Ashley's
conduct as
chancellor
of the
exchequer.

* Bishop Burnet allows, that Lord Ashley had more credit than any one with the Earl of Southampton, who was his relation. From this circumstance alone, besides his being chancellor of the exchequer, it is natural to believe the business of the treasury must, in a manner, entirely devolve on Lord Ashley during the indisposition of Lord Southampton; and it becomes almost needless to remark on what the bishop says, that Lord Southampton left it wholly to the management of Sir Philip Warwick. Lord Ashley had

too much knowledge of business, too great a disposition for it, and too high a spirit, to submit to such a neglect of him; especially as Sir Philip was a very weak man, for so, at the same time, the bishop describes him. Among the papers in the possession of the present Lord Shaftesbury, there are a great number of petitions for farming the customs and the excise, and other things relating to the revenue, which are either addressed to Lord Ashley singly, or to the Earl of Southampton and him jointly.

A.D.
1662-3.

sion of the times, abuses had been accumulating, which required a man of sagacity and spirit to rectify. With incredible pains, he brought the affairs of the exchequer into a proper economy, and searched minutely into every branch of the revenue.* He never depended upon the information of those who were interested in the abuses he wished to rectify, and were consequently prepared to deceive him: but when he met with any clerks, or others, who were men of understanding, and well versed in the affairs of their offices, he entered freely into conversation with them, and, by his affability and penetration, soon gained the knowledge which he wanted.

He pro-
motes trade
and com-
merce.

The important duties of his office necessarily led him to inquire into the trade of the nation; and his active mind was constantly employed upon the improvement of our manufactures and the enlarging our exportation. Where he found this last to be decaying in any of its branches, he sought after the reasons, and consulted the most eminent merchants about the methods of recover-

* There are still remaining, among Lord Shaftesbury's papers, a great number of accounts from the excise and

customs, down to the lowest offices under the inspection of the treasury, with his remarks upon them.

A.D.
1662-3.

ing it. He gave them queries, to which he desired their answers in writing ; and, by comparing and digesting these, acquired a complete and general knowledge of trade. This he thought an essential part of the character of a statesman ; for France and other countries began to see the advantages of commerce, and were forming upon it their schemes of greatness. The merchants, perceiving this disposition in Lord Ashley, applied to him upon all occasions for his advice and interest, and always found in him an active and constant friend.*

Lord Ashley was a great enemy to monopolies, and thought that companies were often a prejudice to trade, which would flourish in a better manner by being more extensive. This was evident, at that time, from the company of merchants adventurers, who, by their own impositions, and those which by their conduct they induced foreign countries to lay on their cloths, were often forced to keep them, or, by putting

Is an ene-
my to mo-
nopolies.

* Among his papers still extant there are many proofs of this, and various letters of thanks from merchants for his protection and care of them, particularly from a large body

of traders to Newfoundland, acknowledging it to be owing to him that the decaying and dying trade of fishing was restored there ; which he thought the best nursery for seamen.

A. D.
1662-3.

off their bad ones, brought them into discredit abroad. He said, “the restraining a general trade was like the damming of increasing waters, which must either swell them to force their boundaries, or cause them to putrefy where they are circumscribed.”

Favours the
woollen
manufac-
tory.

He was particularly intent upon increasing the exportation of the woollen manufactory, which was very low, and had been sinking from the year 1633. At that time, a strict proclamation had been made for restraining this trade; and many of our merchants ceased to traffic in woollen goods, in consequence of the discouragement which they met with from the company. The clothiers were loud in their complaints; the workmen went into foreign countries; and wool was, even by the members of the company, often exported instead of the manufacture. Lord Ashley prepared and forwarded a bill for preventing the exportation of wool, &c. and, by other prudent steps which he took to remove the restraints from the staple of England, the exportation of it rose from that time, and continued rising; a circumstance of no little consequence to the wealth and power of the nation. Nor was his attention confined to the official details of his

own department: his views were far more extensive.

A.D.
1662-3.

He made an exact search into the state of the navy. He kept, as appears by his papers, a regular account of our shipping; the number of ships, their complement of men and guns; the officers, with their names and characters; as, likewise, the conditions of their ships: and, as he thought these the natural strength of England, he was continually anxious to promote their increase; for which purpose he inquired into the growth and fitness of timber in the king's forests, which had been too much neglected. King Charles the First had, in his necessity, sold a large part of the forest of Dean, particularly eighteen thousand acres, to Sir John Wintour, which were soon disforested. Lord Ashley took proper methods for satisfying the purchasers, and for recovering that part of the forest for the crown; and, likewise, for preserving and increasing the timber in it for the use of the navy.*

As the king had intimated to the parliament his desire of a bill to suppress seditious conventicles, the house of commons, soon after their

A.D.
1663-4.
Bill against
seditious
conven-
ticles.

* There are a great number of his remarks upon the navy and the mismanagement of

the timber, as, likewise, upon the foregoing articles of trade, among his papers.

A.D.
1663-4.

meeting, on the 16th of March 1663-4, passed a bill for that purpose, and sent it up to the lords; but there it met with great obstruction from the persons who had opposed the corporation and other penal acts. Several amendments were made by them to the bill, which produced conferences between the houses; and in these conferences, Lord Ashley (along with the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Anglesey, and Lord Mohun) was a manager for the lords. Whilst the king and his courtiers were thus weakening the protestant interest at home, they entered into measures which were equally repugnant to it abroad.

War with Holland.

A.D. 1664.

This year the war was begun with Holland; the king being inclined to it from his resentment against the Dutch for their union with the long parliament. He was likewise instigated to it by the Duke of York, who, for the sake of the religion he had recently embraced, was entirely attached to the French interest. The scene was opened by Mr. Clifford, who was inflamed with the same principles. On the 22nd of April 1664, he carried a message from the house of commons, to desire a free conference with the lords concerning some matters relating to foreign trade.*

* Lords' Journals.

A.D. 1664.

In this conference, he represented that the Hollanders very much obstructed our foreign trade : he set forth the complaints of the East-India Company, the Turkey Company, the Royal African Company, and the Portugal merchants, with the amount of the damages they had suffered from the Dutch, in six articles, to the value of 714,500 pounds ; and presented a vote of the house of commons, that his majesty should be humbly moved to take some speedy and effectual course for redress, and that in prosecution thereof they would assist him with their lives and fortunes. With this the house of lords concurred, and the king sent an answer in writing, agreeable to their vote ; and upon the strength of it he entered into the war, as indeed he had before determined.

France, by the wisdom of her own counsels, and by the weakness of the counsels of other states, was at this time advancing to a greatness which rendered her formidable to all Europe. Cromwell had laid the foundation for this greatness, by joining with and supporting her in her quarrels with Spain. This was a fatal error in his politics ; an error into which he was led by preferring his private interest to that of the public.

King Charles, unhappily, followed him in the

A.D. 1664. same path, and, in so doing, acted from the same motives,—self-interest, and the establishment of an arbitrary power. Cromwell, however, showed by the acquisition of Dunkirk that he had some view to the welfare of England; while Charles, though he was sensible of its importance, weakly, and for a temporary accommodation, sacrificed it to France. Cromwell, in all his transactions, dictated to France with the spirit of a superior; but Charles received her commands with the submission of a dependant. Cromwell asserted the honour of England even in trifles; whereas the king was so negligent, that he ordered Lord Holles, his ambassador, to visit the princes of the blood, even after Lord Holles had refused it, had contested it, and had carried his point at the court of France.*

Lord Ash-
ley appoint-
ed treasurer
of the prizes.

At the breaking out of the Dutch war, commissioners were appointed for the sale and management of the prizes, with a treasurer, cashier-general, comptroller, and other officers. The principal commissioners, the treasurer, and comptroller, consisted of either the nobility, or of persons of great distinction. Lord Ashley was

* Lord Holles's letter to Secretary Morrice.—*Shaftesbury Papers.*

treasurer ; and in this office, as in all his public and private affairs, he observed the utmost exactness and circumspection. He kept duplicates of accounts, which are still remaining, of all sums paid by him, and by what authority ; whether by tallies into the exchequer, by warrants from the king under his sign manual and privy signet, or from the principal commissioners ; which warrants were entered in the comptroller's office, and copies of them were preserved by him. In his accounts, he specified the sums received and paid, to whom they were paid, and for what uses ; as Greenwich Hospital, the navy, Tangier, and other services. This care and exactness proved of advantage to him ; for the house of commons, some time after, ordered a bill for appointing commissioners to examine the public accounts : but the king, perhaps to prevent any reflections that might arise from the parliament's beginning the inquiry, ordered a commission of the same nature, under the great seal, in which all the judges, and almost all the members who had been nominated in the bill, were made commissioners. Lord Ashley's accounts were laid before them ; but, after strict inspection, there appeared no foundation for any censure on his conduct.

A.D. 1664.

[In this year Lord Ashley gave another instance of his abhorrence of that spirit of persecution which was now so prevalent, and which the majority of the nation seem to have mistaken for patriotism. Lord Clarendon, in his history of himself, says, "The Lord Ashley, out of his indifference in matters of religion, and the Lord Arlington, out of his good-will to the Roman catholics, had drawn in the lord privy seal, whose interest was most in the presbyterians, to propose to the king an indulgence for liberty of conscience." They argued the danger which must accrue from creating domestic enemies when they were upon the eve of a formidable foreign war: and they added an inducement which had much greater weight with Charles, that a good annual revenue might be raised by these means; for the violence which the commons had lately shown against all nonconformists had so terrified these sectaries, that they would gladly compound for protection in the exercise of their religion by yearly payments. The bill was covertly prepared, and everything was ready for its introduction into the lords before Clarendon knew anything of it. The king at last informed him of it, and begged his co-operation: but the chancellor,

as was expected, was violent against it. He was A.D. 1664.
at the time confined by a severe fit of the gout,
and the cabinet councils were consequently held
at his house. But his zealous bigotry and his
dislike of the authors of this bill lent him
strength. "On the day appointed for the second
reading," he says, "with pain and difficulty he
was in his place in the house."

This was upon the second day of debate. The lord treasurer had already spoken against it, and the lord privy seal had abandoned it in despair; but Ashley was still earnest in its support. "Lord Ashley," says Clarendon, "adhered firmly to his point, spake often and with great sharpness of wit, and had a cadence in his words and pronunciation that drew attention. He said, 'It was the king's misfortune, that a matter of so great concernment to him, and in support of such a prerogative as would be found to be inherent in him without any declaration of parliament, should be supported only by such weak men as himself who served his majesty at a distance, while the great officers of the crown thought fit to oppose it.' " By this prerogative Lord Ashley could only have meant the power to remit penalties, which is undoubtedly inherent in the crown,

A.D. 1664.

and which would of course have enabled the king to attain the same object, but by more circuitous and obnoxious means. Clarendon answered him with a violence of which he was afterwards ashamed; and although the bill might possibly have passed the lords, yet, as it was sure of defeat in the commons, it was abandoned.

This abortive attempt was of course injurious to the cause it was intended to support, although the strenuous opposition offered to it by the Duke of York might alone have shown the people that it was favourable neither to the establishment of popery nor the protection of absolute power.]

A.D. 1665.
Meeting of
the parlia-
ment at Ox-
ford.

On the 9th of October 1665, the parliament met at Oxford, the plague raging at that time in London. The king, in his speech, demanded a new supply for carrying on the war; and, to enforce the demand, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon delivered a long speech at the conclusion of the king's, in which he enumerated the many injuries and affronts which England had received from the Dutch.* He called them "an ungrateful state," and said, "they had a dialect of rudeness so peculiar to their language, that it was high time for all kings and princes to oblige them to

* Lords' Journals.

some reformation, if they intended to hold correspondence or commerce with them." Lord Clarendon, however, delivered this speech *ex officio*; for he was believed to be averse to the war. The general scheme of power was still carrying on at home; and a design was laid to impose an oath on the whole nation, "that they would not endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state; which was tacitly owning the present form to exist *jure divino*."^{*}

The nonconformist ministers were looked upon as the most obnoxious set of men to the public; and they might be easily represented as the most dangerous, in consequence of the power which the sectaries had lately enjoyed. It was, therefore, thought that the best method of paving the way for the general introduction of the oath was to begin with the dissenting ministers.

Upon some severe expressions in the speech delivered by Lord Clarendon, October the 9th, against the nonconformists, the commons immediately passed, and sent up to the lords, the five-mile bill; by which no nonconformist minister could dwell in, or come within five miles of, any corporation, or any other place where he had been minister

Five-mile
Act.

* A Letter from a Person of Quality.

A.D. 1665. or had preached after the act of oblivion, unless he took the oath, as mentioned in the corporation act ; to which were added these words : “ and that I will not, at any time, endeavour any alteration of government either in church or state.” By this dangerous oath, the king and his administration were to be left to act without control ; and the people, being bound to an implicit obedience, must submit with patience.

Opposed by
Lord Ash-
ley and
others.

Lord Ashley, and his friend the Earl of Southampton,* opposed the bill in a strenuous manner ; and showed, that the oath was in itself unjustifiable, that it sprang from bad designs, and must produce the most fatal consequences to the liberty of the subject : but, notwithstanding the opposition made by them, and by some other lords, the bill passed into an act. After the commons had despatched it, they brought in another, to oblige every subject to take the same oath. This bill was thrown out of the upper house by a majority of three votes only.⁶⁸

* Echard.

⁶⁸ This majority,” says Mr. Ralph, “ had the merit of saving their country from the greatest ignominy which could have befallen it,—that of riveting as well as forging its own chains.” Mr. Locke, in his “ Letter from a Person of Quality,” remarks,

Lord Ashley, notwithstanding the vigour with which he acted in parliament, was at this time in a very bad state of health; for the bruise in his side, occasioned by his being overturned in Holland, 1660, was become an incurable abscess: and, in the beginning of the summer of 1666, upon the single advice of Mr. Locke, who was then accidentally introduced to his acquaintance, he underwent an hazardous operation, which saved his life. His breast was opened, the matter discharged, and an orifice was ever after kept open by a silver pipe; an instrument which became famous in the writings of several authors some years after, who never failed to reproach him with this infirmity.

The war with Holland was, in a great measure, owing to the intrigues and influence of the French king, who acted his part in this respect with great sagacity. He had formed a design for

Design of
France.

“The providence by which it was thrown out was very remarkable: for Mr. Peregrine Bertie being newly chosen, was that morning introduced into the house by his brother the now Earl of Lindsey and Sir Thomas Osborne, now lord treasurer, who all three gave their votes against the bill; and the numbers were so even upon that division, that their three voices carried the question against it.”—*Locke's Works*, 4to edit. vol. iv p. 541.

A.D. 1665. the conquest of the Low Countries ; * and, therefore, he fomented the war, in order to weaken the maritime powers, and prevent their obstructing his measures. He followed very closely the advice given in the following paper by the Count de Lyonne, who had been bred under Cardinal Richelieu, constantly employed under Mazarine, and was for many years secretary of state.

“ SIRE,

De Ly-
onne's letter
to the
French
king.

“ The present conjuncture of affairs abroad requires nothing more from your majesty's prudence than to respite for a little time the war against Spain. That which is already begun betwixt England and the United Provinces is the most fortunate occasion that can possibly be wished ; and which the Divine Providence seems to present your majesty, not only to constitute you arbiter of the differences between those two nations, but by which you may exhaust them at a little charge, (being the only powers which can, and are, indeed, obliged to engage for the de-

* By Lord Clarendon's letter to Count d'Estrades, Oct. 27, 1662, this conquest seems to have been projected long before—to have been in a man-

ner concerted with the English court, at least with the chancellor ; and the war seems to have been the consequence of it.

fence and protection of the Low Countries,) and A.D. 1666. reduce them to such a condition, that it shall not be in their power to remedy it, though they would; provided, I say, your majesty will but foment this war, so as it may continue. The English will find themselves necessitated to implore your majesty's alliance and friendship; and the United Provinces absolutely depend upon your will, as having need of your assistance; and both will at last be reduced to an impossibility of opposing your just designs. But if once your majesty should undertake anything against the said provinces unseasonably, and with too much *empressolement*, before your majesty be well assured that the strength of both nations is sufficiently weakened, your majesty will find the scene quite changed in a moment; and the same powers which are at present at variance, to the mutual destruction of each other, will unite themselves together by the motive and maxim of a stronger interest, the defence of the common rampart. It would be a stroke of admirable prudence to let them go on and ruin one another, and to behold the game at a distance, to blow the coals with address, and, by making a bustle, seem to be much concern-

A.D. 1666. ed to assert and defend the Hollanders your allies; from time to time encouraging them with some inconsiderable aid, whilst the whole stress of the war lies still upon their arms; till your majesty sees them reduced to the point of being no more able to oppose those conquests which your majesty has formed in your mind. Sire, there is only one thing to be apprehended in this design, namely, a league or confederacy between England, Sweden, and the house of Austria; to which, also, the Hollanders may haply be inclined of themselves, as well as other princes of the north. Experience, Sire, of former times, and the knowledge of the present, oblige me in all humility to declare, that there could nothing happen more fatal to the crown than such a league and union.

“ 1666.

DE LYONNE.

“ To the French King his master.”

Shaftesbury was celebrated for the strong power he possessed of delineating the characters of those with whom he was brought in contact. It is said that the earl was much in the habit of amusing himself by sketching the characters of his friends, and that many specimens of his talent

in this kind of composition yet remain among the papers in the possession of his descendant. The only one which has ever been published is the following, which was first printed in the third volume of the *Connoisseur*.

“ SKETCH OF THE CHARACTER OF THE HON. WM.
HASTINGS, OF WOODLANDS, IN THE COUNTY OF
SOUTHAMPTON.

“ In the year 1638 lived Mr. Hastings, by his quality, son, brother, and uncle to the Earl of Huntingdon. He was, peradventure, an original in our age, or rather the copy of our ancient nobility in hunting, not in warlike, times. He was low, very strong, and very active; of a reddish flaxen hair. His clothes always green cloth, and never all worth (when new) five pounds. His house was perfectly of the old fashion, in the midst of a large park well stocked with deer; and near the house rabbits to serve his kitchen, many fish-ponds, great store of wood and timber; a bowling-green in it, long but narrow, full of high ridges, it being never levelled since it was ploughed: they used round sand bowls: and it had a banqueting-house like a stand, a large one built in a tree.

A.D. 1666.

“ He kept all manner of sport-hounds, that ran buck, fox, hare, otter, and badger; and hawks long and short winged. He had all sorts of nets for fish: he had a walk in the New Forest, and the manor of Christ’s Church; this last supplied him with red deer, sea and river fish; and, indeed, all his neighbours’ grounds and royalties were free to him, who bestowed all his time on these sports, but what he borrowed to caress his neighbours’ wives and daughters; there being not a woman in all his walks of the degree of a yeoman’s wife or under, and under the age of forty, but it was extremely her fault if he was not intimately acquainted with her. This made him very popular; always speaking kindly to the husband, father, or brother, who was, to boot, very welcome to his house whenever he came. There he found beef, pudding, and small beer, in great plenty; a house not so neatly kept as to shame him or his dusty shoes; a great hall strewed with marrow-bones, full of hawks’ perches, hounds, spaniels, and terriers; the upper side of the hall hung with the fox-skins of this and the last year’s killing, here and there a pole-cat intermixed; gamekeepers’ and hunters’ poles in great abundance.

“ The parlour was a large long room as properly furnished. On a great hearth, paved with brick, lay some terriers, and the choicest hounds and spaniels. Seldom but two of the great chairs had litters of young cats in them, which were not to be disturbed, he having always three or four attending him at dinner, and a little white round stick, of fourteen inches long, lying by his trencher, that he might defend such meat as he had no mind to part with to them. The windows, which were very large, served for places to lay his arrows, cross-bows, stone-bows, and other such like accoutrements. The corners of the room full of the best chose hunting and hawking poles; an oyster table at the lower end, which was of constant use twice a day all the year round, for he never failed to eat oysters before dinner and supper through all seasons: the neighbouring town of Poole supplied him with them.

“ The upper part of the room had two small tables and a desk, on the one side of which was a church Bible, and on the other the Book of Martyrs. On the tables were hawks’ hoods, bells, and such like; two or three old green hats, with their crowns thrust in so as to hold ten or a dozen eggs, which were of a pheasant kind

A.D. 1666.

A.D. 1666. of poultry he took much care of and fed himself. Tables, dice, cards, and boxes were not wanting. In the hole of the desk were store of tobacco pipes that had been used.

“ On one side of this end of the room was the door of a closet wherein stood the strong beer and the wine, which never came thence but in single glasses, that being the rule of the house exactly observed; for he never exceeded in drink or permitted it. On the other side was the door of an old chapel, not used for devotion. The pulpit, as the safest place, was never wanting of a cold chine of beef, venison pasty, gammon of bacon, or great apple-pie, with thick crust extremely baked.

“ His table cost him not much, though it was good to eat at. His sports supplied all but beef and mutton; except Fridays, when he had the best salt-fish (as well as other fish) he could get, and was the day his neighbours of best quality most visited him. He never wanted a London pudding, and always sung it in with ‘*my pert eyes therein a.*’ He drank a glass or two of wine at meals; very often syrup of gilliflower in his sack; and had always a tun glass without feet stood by him holding a pint of

small beer, which he often stirred with rosemary.

“ He was well-natured, but soon angry, calling his servants bastards and cuckoldy knaves, in one of which he often spoke truth of his own knowledge. He lived to be an hundred; never lost his eyesight, but always wrote and read without spectacles, and got on horseback without help. Until past fourscore he rode to the death of a stag as well as any.”

[Mr. Horace Walpole says of this, that “ it is a curious and well-drawn character of our ancient English gentry ;” and so it undoubtedly is. There is a portrait of this veteran sportsman at the Shaftesbury family seat at St. Giles’.]

Lord Ashley’s accurate perception of character was of singular use to him as a statesman. It was applied with great effect to the ministers, and the chief persons in most of the foreign courts. By this and by his foreign correspondence he had an early intelligence of their counsels. As he saw the designs of France, the increase of her shipping, the improvement of her trade, and observed all the measures tending to her rising greatness, he was earnest for concluding the war with Holland. He was, likewise,

Lord Ash-
ley’s atten-
tion to fo-
reign af-
fairs.

A.D. 1666. the principal cause of the king's not running into another, which would have proved highly prejudicial to the trade of the nation.

English merchant ships attacked by the Dutch in the Elbe.

At the breaking out of the war with Holland, Sir William Swann, the English resident at Hamburgh, applied to the senate to know whether they would undertake to keep the river Elbe in security, and protect the English ships from any hostilities. The senate answered, that their city was too weak to make such an engagement; but, if the King of Great Britain would agree to a neutrality in the Elbe, they would endeavour to persuade the States General to acquiesce in it. For the advantage of the city of Hamburgh, the States consented to such a neutrality; but the king would not declare his agreement.

In the beginning of the summer, 1666, the senate deputed Mr. Garmers, their syndic of the city, and afterwards Mr. Westerman, one of their body, to give notice to the secretary of the English company at Hamburgh, that they had received intelligence of the Dutch having a design to attack the English ships in the Elbe; and advised them, therefore, to be circumspect, and bring their ships under the can-

non of the city. These were lying at a place called New Mill, about a mile distant from the walls of Hamburg, but within the jurisdiction of the King of Denmark. There was no haven or fort there, but only a wind-mill, and a house which by the miller was made a victualling-house. Upon this notice, several ships sailed down the river to take the benefit of Sir Christopher Myng's convoy ; but, being disappointed, they came back to their former station at New Mill. On the 24th of August 1666, about eight o'clock in the evening, four Dutch men-of-war attacked the English fleet of merchantmen : eleven ships immediately cut their cables, and saved themselves under the protection of the city cannon ; three others, endeavouring to escape, were stranded at a place something less than a mile from the city, but out of its jurisdiction, and were burnt, along with a Hamburg ship that was laden. As the English had been firing their cannon all that day and the former by way of rejoicing, the senate had no knowledge of their being attacked, till they saw the flames of the burning ships.

This accident so incensed King Charles, that he ordered Secretary Morrice to send for the

A.D. 1666.
The King
threatens
war against
Hamburgh.

Hamburgh merchants residing in London, and to acquaint them how highly he resented the proceedings of the senate; and that, if they did not cause full and ample satisfaction to be made, within three months, for the losses occasioned by their permitting the ships to be burnt, he would take a proper course for the recovery of them, and the vindication of his honour.

The senate of Hamburgh said, that they ought not to make this reparation; and alleged that they had endeavoured to obtain a neutrality in the Elbe: that they had given early notice to the English to be in general upon their guard, but had themselves no knowledge or expectation of this particular attack: that the place where the ships were burnt, was under the jurisdiction of the King of Denmark: that the Hamburghers were greater sufferers than the English company; and that those ships which came under the protection of their cannon received not the least damage: that such goods, belonging to the English ships, as were plundered and brought into their territory, were, by the assistance and authority of the senate, restored to the owners: and that, even granting the attack had been in their territory, as it was

made by a superior power, no neutral country A.D. 1666. could by any law be obliged to make reparation to a third party. The senate presented, in their justification and maintenance of their rights, very ample remonstrances, supported by a great number of authorities from the civil law.*

Upon the refusal of the Hamburgers to make satisfaction, King Charles resolved to declare war against them. Lord Ashley, who had made himself master of the dispute, and found that the city was not to be blamed, laid before the king the ill consequences of such a war; and particularly represented that it would in a manner ruin the woollen manufactory, Hamburg being almost the only market for it abroad since the war with Holland; for the company of merchant adventurers permitted their members to trade only to two towns, viz. Hamburg and Rotterdam; and they had, at that time, a factory at Hamburg. He desired the king before his taking a step of such vast importance, to hear the opinion of the merchants of London; to which the king consented. Upon this, the following memorial was presented to Lord Ashley, desiring

Lord Ash-
ley dis-
suades the
king from it.

* These opinions of the civilians are amongst Lord Shaftesbury's papers.

A.D. 1666. him to lay before the king their reasons against the war.

Memorial of
the English
merchants.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

“ Since it has pleased his majesty so far to consider the sad condition of his poor subjects as that, by your lordship’s prevailing mediation and intercession, we may humbly offer our thoughts before his majesty proceedeth to declare war against the city of Hamburgh, we return our dutiful thanks to his majesty for his princely care of his subjects ; heartily praying to God so to bless his counsels, that they may tend to the peaceable and quiet settlement of his government over us ; and that thereby trade and commerce may so flourish as to enable us to render him not only the tribute of our lips, but of our purses and estates. With all due submission, therefore, we conceive, that the just occasions of offence his majesty may have taken against the city of Hamburgh are referable to these two heads ; breach of articles with his majesty, or injuries offered to his subjects trading thither. The first is a point too high for us to discourse on ; but we beg leave to say, that, in all treaties made with the town of Hainburgh,

the kings of England have not thought fit to descend so low as to make themselves parties. They have always preserved their dignity, and taken to themselves the controlling power of arbitrating differences between the city and company; so that they have rather been protectors and guarantees, than principals or accessories in any of the agreements.

“ As, therefore, the first motive for the correspondence between the crown of England and the Hans Towns was the advancement of trade, we cannot but with grateful hearts acknowledge his majesty’s care, rather to hazard the inconveniences and uncertainties of war, than suffer his subjects to be imposed on ; but, if reparation and satisfaction may be obtained, together with all probable obligations and assurances of a future good behaviour, we cannot so far forget the tender compassionate zeal which his majesty has always showed for the welfare of his people, as to distrust it now. We, therefore, humbly crave leave to say,

“ First. That the trade of Hamburgh, giving the most constant and liberal vent to the woollen manufacture of this nation, and the commodities returned from thence being of more real use to

A.D. 1666. the kingdom than those of any other country; the interruption of that trade will not only prejudice the vent of that staple commodity, whereby the revenue of the whole kingdom will be much abated, and his majesty's customs be greatly lessened; but the returns from thence consisting chiefly in naval stores, the war, if it continues long, will with difficulty be carried on without a friendship with Hamburgh. It may not, also, be unworthy of consideration, that the privileges and immunities granted to the English merchants are not only greater than any factory in the world hath, but were given in the infancy of trade, when we were sole masters of the woollen manufactory; and should they be once forfeited, would never be restored again.

“ Secondly. As to the affair of the burnt ships; his majesty being pleased to make himself judge of it, for the righting of his subjects, in all humility we acknowledge his favour and justice; whereof, though we have received no benefit, yet we cannot justly lay that upon the Hamburghers, the commission for making out many of the claims not being yet returned from Hamburgh.

“ Thirdly. As in the beginning of the war against the Dutch, the English merchants ex-

A.D. 1666.

ported vast quantities of cloth to Hamburgh, (that town, in all wars with the Dutch, having been the magazine for the northern parts of the world,) it appeareth that the English goods now there, together with the debts owing from the Hamburgers, upon a just and regular computation, amount to about four hundred thousand pounds sterling, which in case of a war will certainly be confiscated: a sum that never will be repaid by the prizes which may be taken; for that inconsiderable town, not daring to contend with his majesty, will immediately abstain from all trade, and not venture to put out one ship to sea, their inland trade being what will support them; and consequently their mariners, who are very numerous, will serve the Hollanders for bread: and besides, the lives of those Englishmen who are there will be exposed to the violence of an enraged, ungovernable populace; and then what remains but that our miserable traders thither must throw themselves and their families at his majesty's feet for bread? which would be, also, the condition of several thousands of clothiers and artificers of this nation, who are wholly supported and maintained by that trade. And now, my lord, we are too sensible of his majesty's goodness,

A.D. 1666. to impose upon it longer by our discourse : we know our concerns are safely lodged when within his breast, and may esteem our fortunes secure, when committed to the tender care of the father of our country."

Lord Ashley's aversion to the designs of France.

The war with Holland had been owing to the intrigues of France, whose instruments for promoting and carrying it on were the Duke of York and his adherents in the court. The chief persons entrusted by the duke, and promoted by his influence, were declared or suspected papists ; from whence Lord Ashley soon penetrated the secret of his being perverted to popery. The duke's principles made him believe that the crown ought to be vested with an arbitrary power, and his temper naturally led him to the practice of it : France promised him support in all his views, whether relating to government or religion ; and for this reason he was always closely attached to her interest. Lord Ashley had an invincible aversion both to arbitrary power and to popery.*

* Ce seigneur, quoique d'ailleurs très modéré, estoit intraitable sur la religion Romaine, pour laquelle il avoit une aversion invincible. Il n'etoit pas mieux disposé à l'égard du pouvoir arbitraire

et tyrannique, c'est une chose connue de tous ceux qui ont eû quelque commerce avec lui, ou qui en ont oui parler à ceux qui l'ont connu.—*Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. vi. p. 364.

His opposition, in council, to every step in favour of either of these, and his suspicions of the duke, which he did not dissemble, gave the latter a distaste to him, that settled in an irreconcilable hatred ; though the duke as yet had not dared to make any public profession of his religion.

The war evidently tended to weaken the maritime powers, and in them the protestant interest. The French king's greatness could only be built on their ruin ; and therefore Lord Ashley tried every art, and used his utmost interest, to forward a peace with the Dutch. However, he proposed, at the same time, that the nation might reap some advantage by the war ; and for this purpose he delivered a paper to the king, representing that, in the treaty of peace, one half at least of the trade of nutmegs, mace, cloves, and cinnamon, which were solely in the hands of the Dutch East-India Company, should be claimed and insisted on. These claims he grounded on the Dutch having, by fraud and force, dispossessed the English of the spice trade at Amboyna and Poleroon ; on their keeping possession of it, contrary to an agreement made with King James in the year 1619, by which agreement the English were to have one third part of the trade ; on

He pro-motes a peace with Holland.

The terms proposed by him.

A.D. 1666. their detaining the island of Poleroon, contrary to articles lately made ; on their, also, obliging the King of Macassar to exclude the English by name from the trade of cloves ; and on their expelling the Portuguese from the island of Ceylon, and depriving the English likewise of the cinnamon trade ; by which means, being the sole masters of those commodities, they made the whole world pay at least four times the price for them which they formerly did.

He proposed that if this agreement should be made with the Dutch, the English, for their own security, should have a military command in those places ; that caution should be taken at home for the performance of what was stipulated ; that the commodities shipped from any of those islands to Europe, Persia, or other parts of the world, should be for a joint account of both nations ; and that, if not the whole, at least half of the goods should be laden in English ships, and sold at such rates as should be mutually settled between the two powers : but this representation had no effect. The war was neither entered into nor concluded with any regard to the interest of England. It was carried on without honour, and ended without advantage.

On the 16th of May 1667, Lord Ashley lost A.D. 1667.
 his relation and great friend, the Earl of South-
 ampton ; and in him the public was deprived of
 a true patriot, and the protestant interest of an
 eminent support. He, in conjunction with Lord
 Ashley, Lord Roberts (lord privy seal), the Earl
 of Manchester (lord chamberlain), the Earls of
 Northumberland, Leicester, Sandwich, and An-
 glesey, Lord Holles, and Secretary Morrice, had
 given great opposition to the French interest, to
 the penal laws, and the schemes of arbitrary
 power.

Earl of
Southamp-
ton's death.

After his death the following commissioners
 were appointed for executing the office of lord
 high treasurer, viz. the Duke of Albemarle,
 Lord Ashley (who continued chancellor of the
 exchequer), Sir William Coventry, Sir John
 Duncombe, and Sir Thomas Clifford.⁶⁹

On the 23rd of May 1667, a treaty of com-

⁶⁹ Clarendon claims the merit of having recommended Lord Ashley upon this occasion. He says the king “named Sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly of the council and comptroller of the house, and Sir William Coventry, and said, ‘he did not think there should be many;’ and the duke then named Sir John Duncombe, as a man of whom he had heard well, and everybody knew he was intimate with Sir William Coventry. The king said, ‘he thought they three would be enough, and that

A.D. 1667. merce * was concluded with Spain, the instructions for forming which were drawn up by Lord Ashley.

Treaty of commerce with Spain.

Peace with Holland.

On the 24th of August in the same year, a peace was proclaimed with Holland. The share which Lord Ashley had in this transaction was so well known to the States General, that, when-

* The heads of this treaty, in his own handwriting, interlined and corrected in some places, are among his papers ; and one remarkable article in the instructions was, that no searching of ships should be allowed.

a greater number would but make the despatch of business the more slow.'

Clarendon, who disapproved of executing offices by commission as a method adapted rather to the genius of a republic than to that of a monarchy, among other objections " put his majesty in mind that he must dismiss the Lord Ashley from his office of chancellor of the exchequer, if he did not make him commissioner of the treasury, and one of the quorum :" and he also pressed upon the king that it would be necessary to have persons to give some lustre to the others.

The king's answer was, that " he did not care if he added the general to the others, but the Lord Ashley gave him some trouble ;" and, says Clarendon, " he said enough to make it manifest that he thought him not fit to be amongst them, yet he knew not how to put him out of his place, but gave direction for preparing the commission for the treasury to the persons named before, and made the Lord Ashley only one of the commissioners and a major part to make a quorum ; which would quickly bring the government of the whole business into the

they sent over their ambassadors, these had particular orders to wait on him, and delivered him a letter, in which the States desired the continuance of his friendship. A.D. 1667.

hands of those three who were designed for it: and Ashley rather chose to be degraded than to dispute it." — *Life of Clarendon*, p. 418.

Clarendon thought Ashley degraded, because it had always been usual in the choice of commissioners of the treasury, that the chancellor of the exchequer should be the sole person of the quorum.

CHAPTER IX.

Fall of the Earl of Clarendon.—Decline of the French interest at Court.—Domestic measures.—Satisfaction of the Parliament.—Triple Alliance negotiated.—Permanent Committees of the Privy Council established.—Care for the Navy.—Peace with Spain.—Conduct of the French King.—Terms of the Triple Alliance.—State of the English Council.—Influence of the Duke of York.—Lord Conway's Letter to Lord Ashley.—Memorial to the King.

A.D. 1667.

Lord Clarendon disgraced.

ON the 31st of August the seals were taken from the Earl of Clarendon, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of Lord Keeper. This is a critical part of Charles's reign; for some short time before the dismission of Lord Clarendon, and some time after it, the king seemed to have broken loose from the fetters in which he had been and was afterwards chained: there was a general alteration in his conduct, and this short interval might justly be called the golden age of his government. It may be proper therefore to take notice of the many remarkable and truly national transactions which preceded and attended

that dismission ; of the effects they had in the different courts in Europe ; and to point out by whose counsels they were most probably directed. Nor can it be amiss to show, at the same time, by what means Lord Clarendon lost his interest with the king, and his credit with the public ; and the apprehensions which France entertained that in him it was deprived of its principal support in the court of England.

Review of
his conduct.

Lord Clarendon had many powerful enemies both in the cabinet and throughout the nation : his haughty behaviour, which even his advocates have allowed, might occasion the first, and his ministerial conduct the latter. He had been a great promoter of the penal laws,* which could not but render him obnoxious to all the moderate party in the nation, and might make the friends, and even the enemies of the king, (if at that time he had any) look back with just apprehensions on the violent proceedings of Charles the First. The marriage of Lord Clarendon's daughter with the

* In his apology, at the beginning of the first volume of his essays, Lord Clarendon assumes the merit of having been the chief promoter of one penal law, viz. "that for calling the king a papist;" an act as fool-

ish as it might have been made oppressive ; for from that time (as has been observed by a great man in the same high station) no man ever doubted the king's being one.

A.D. 1667. Duke of York; the marriage of the king with the Infanta of Portugal subsequent to the former; the sale of Dunkirk, known at that time to be the chancellor's act; his attachment to the court of France, and his enmity to the court of Spain, had all contributed to render him very unpopular.

After his dismissal, the commons impeached him at the bar of the house of lords; and, on the 12th of November, many circumstances, which have since been brought to light, tend to support some of the articles alleged against him. In that relating to the sale of Dunkirk, Count d'Estrades' letters have evinced him to be the sole author of the sale of that important place; and these letters are corroborated by the testimony of Marshal Turenne.

Another article of the impeachment, viz. the sixth, "that he received great sums of money from the Company of Vintners, or some of them, or their agents, for enhancing the prices of wines, and for freeing them from the payment of legal penalties which they had incurred," is supported even by those historians who have been his warmest advocates; for in order to exculpate him from the clamour which at that time was general, that Clarendon House, (commonly called Dunkirk House,) was not built with any money he

received from the sale of Dunkirk, Echard, in A.D. 1667. particular, says, “it was built chiefly at the charge of the Vintners’ Company, who, designing ‘to monopolize his favour,’ made it more large and magnificent than ever he intended.” A severer charge could not well have been exhibited against a chancellor and first minister than that which is thus proved by this unskilful advocate.

Upon the impeachment being carried up to the lords, a motion was made for sequestering him from parliament, and committing him. This Lord Ashley, among others, opposed,* because no particular treason was assigned in the impeach-

Lord Ash-
ley opposes
his being
imprisoned.

* This the Earl of Rochester (the youngest son of the chancellor) acknowledged to the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was father to the present⁷⁰ earl. It is to be observed that, in the protest upon this question, which was signed by twenty-eight lords, several of whom, as the Duke of Albemarle and others, were then, and had been from the restoration, in some of the principal offices of the court, there is the following remarkable article, viz. “The Earl of Clarendon’s power

and influence, in the absolute management of all the great affairs of the realm, hath been so notorious ever since his majesty’s happy return into England until the great seal was taken from him, that, whilst he is at liberty, few or none of the witnesses will probably dare to declare in evidence all that they know against him.”

This appears evidently in Lord Clarendon’s History of his Life, where we find that he took upon him to direct all

⁷⁰ The fourth earl.

A.D. 1667. ment ; and, in so doing, he showed that he was not governed by any spleen or resentment ; though he had usually differed from the chancellor in public debates, and especially in whatever related to the penal laws.

Lord Clarendon, upon his impeachment, withdrew, and, some time after, sent to the house of lords a long memorial tending to justify himself against the accusation of the commons : but in this his answer was general ; and as to one of the chief articles, viz. that relating to the sale of Dunkirk, he was entirely silent. This memorial, which was received by the lords on the 3rd of

the proceedings of the house of commons, and that he did not scruple, even in the king's presence, to treat in a very

abusive manner the persons whose schemes he disapproved. See his behaviour to Sir George Downing, vol. iii. pp. 609, 610.⁷¹

⁷¹ He told him in the presence of his sovereign, “ that it was impossible for the king to be well served whilst fellows of his condition were admitted to speak as much as they had a mind to ; and that in the best times such presumptions had been punished with imprisonment by the lords of the council, without the king's taking notice of it.”—*Clarendon's Life*, 321. It is difficult to find a speech of equal brevity, which combines so much overbearing insolence and pitiful illiberality ; or which breathes so much of the true spirit of tyranny. This is the man who, Hume says, “ was always a friend to the liberty and constitution of his country,” and this was his idea of her best times.

December, raised a great flame in both houses, A.D. 1667.
and exasperated the public against him. The next day, the king declared in council,* that Lord Clarendon should be put out of the council, and from thenceforth be divested of the office of chancellor; and on the 13th of the same month, a bill was sent from the lords to the commons for banishing the Earl of Clarendon, who afterwards settled in France, during the remainder of his life.

For a short time before and after Lord Clarendon's disgrace, the French interest subsided. The treaty of peace with Spain filled the court of France with apprehensions that our court was going into too close an union with the Spaniards; and these apprehensions were so greatly increased by Lord Clarendon's disgrace happening very soon after it, that Monsieur Ruvigny† was sent to England with instructions to sound the disposition of the English court, and to know whether, upon Clarendon's being turned out, the king had not been prevailed on to quit the friendship of France, and enter into a closer alliance with Spain.

The French
interest
declines at
the Eng-
lish court.

* London Gazette.

the 11th, eleven days only

† Ruvigny had his first audience of the king, September

after Lord Clarendon was turned out.

A.D. 1667.

The peace with Holland, which speedily followed the treaty with Spain, was another circumstance that gave uneasiness to the court of France and to the popish interest. This peace was owing to the same counsels which brought the king, at this time, into several measures that were evidently calculated for the public welfare.

Orders of
Council
against the
papists.

On the 11th of September, an order of council was published in the Gazette,* taking notice of the great resort of people to the chapels of the queen, queen mother, and the foreign ministers ; and notice was given, that if any British subject (unless those belonging to their families) should repair thereto, the penalties and punishments should be inflicted on them which were provided by the law : “a sure indication that the Duke of York had not the ascendant in council, and that the popish interest was forced to give way a little to an English and national one.”

These measures were carried still further ; the king ordered that all papists should be removed from military employments, and that they should even be turned out of the guards. He commanded, at the same time, that the forces which he had lately raised should be disbanded.

* London Gazette.

Many regulations were made by the council with regard to monopolies and exclusive charters in trade, which had been obtained during the ministry of Lord Clarendon. The Canary patent,* in particular, was required to be given up; as it was, on the 18th of September; and the company was dissolved. On the 25th of the said month, the surrender was advertised in the Gazette, and that “thereby all the liberties of the company tending to a sole trade into the Canary Islands were wholly dissolved.” On the same day, the king, in council, ordered a proclamation to be issued, calling in and revoking a proclamation of the 25th of May 1665, which enjoined the due observance of the charter and privileges lately granted to the governor and company of merchants trading to the Canary Islands; and, also, all other proclamations and orders whatever relating to that company, or whereby trade to these islands was in any wise prohibited or restrained; and for granting full and free liberty of trade to the Canary Islands, as was formerly used before that charter of incorporation.†

Canary
Company
dissolved.

On the 20th of September it was advertised,

* London Gazette.

† The third article of the commons' impeachment of Lord

Clarendon was, “that he had received great sums of money for the procuring of the Canary

A.D. 1667.

Company
of Wood-
mongers
proceeded
against.

likewise, in the *Gazette*,* that the king, having taken notice of the many and great abuses committed by the company of woodmongers in the sale and vent of fuel of all kinds, to the great oppression of the poorer sort, required them to surrender their charter. This, however, they refused;† and, therefore, an order of council was made and published, that the attorney-general should proceed by a quo warranto against the charter, and by information in the King's Bench, against the abuses and exactions of the woodmongers, for the misusal of their patent.

An unjustifiable order
of council
revoked.

On the 27th of September, the king, by advice of the privy council, published a proclamation,‡ thereby revoking an order of council, of October the 25th, 1665, for dispensing with the act of navigation, and giving liberty to merchants and others trading to and having goods of Malaga; Alicant, and other foreign parts, to return and bring home their effects, notwithstanding the

patent and other illegal patents; and had granted illegal injunctions to stop proceedings at law against them, and other illegal patents formerly granted."

* *London Gazette*.

† On the 7th of December, three days after Lord Claren-

don's name was struck out of the council books, the company of woodmongers, as if sensible that they had lost their principal friend and support, surrendered their charter.

—*London Gazette*.

‡ *London Gazette. Journals*.

act of navigation. As there was no clause in A.D. 1667. the act conferring such a power upon the king, this was the first instance in his reign of such an extension of the prerogative; and, though it is passed over in silence by all our historians, was as unjustifiable as the dispensing power in the relaxation of a penal law, which was exerted in the year 1672. The latter, however, as it related to ecclesiastical points, and was in favour of toleration, was made a greater subject for clamour.

Upon the 10th of October, the king acquainted the parliament that, at their last meeting, about eleven weeks since, he thought fit to prorogue them to this day; and that, “in the mean while, he had given himself time to do something which he hoped would not be unwelcome to them, but be a foundation for a greater confidence between them for the future.” The lord keeper, among other things, said, “that as to the accounts of the moneys given towards the war, which his majesty formerly promised should be given them, his majesty had commanded his officers to make them ready; and, since that way of commission wherein he put the examination of them had been ineffectual, he was willing the parliament should follow their own method, to examine them in what

The king's
popular lan-
guage to
parliament.

A.D. 1667. way and as strictly as they pleased ; assuring them he would leave every one concerned to stand or fall according to his own innocence or guilt ; that if any just grievances had happened, his majesty would be as willing and ready to redress them for the future as they to have them represented ; he not doubting but that they would give healing and moderate counsels, and imprint that known truth in his subjects' hearts, that there is no distinct interest between the king and his people, but that the good of one is the good of both."

These speeches were received with the general applause and satisfaction of both houses.* It is remarkable that the last passage in the foregoing speech was a favourite maxim of Lord Shaftesbury, often mentioned by him. He particularly asserted this constitutional proposition, at the swearing in of Lord Treasurer Danby ; when he told the treasurer, that none but mountebanks in politics would think of separating the interests of the king from those of the people.

His mea-sures highly approved.

What Charles said to the houses of parliament was highly agreeable to them, and the measures which he had taken met with equal approbation.

* London Gazette.

A.D. 1667.

They returned their thanks, in particular, for his having been pleased to disband the late raised forces, and to dismiss papists from his guards and other military employments; for causing the Canary patent to be surrendered and vacated; and, more especially, for his having displaced the late lord chancellor.⁷²

The same honest, the same wise counsels, which had influenced the king to adopt these national measures, went farther, and laid a foundation for securing the liberties of Europe against the encroaching power of France, and for advancing and fixing the reputation of Charles if he had been attentive to it himself. A scheme was laid for entering into a closer alliance with the States General; and, for that purpose, in the beginning of January 1667-8, Sir William Temple was sent from his residence in the country, and immediately despatched ambassador to Holland. He

Triple alliance.

⁷² This vote was not obtained very readily. It was first moved, says Clarendon, by “one Tomkins, a man of very contemptible parts and of worse manners, who used to be encouraged by men of design to set some motion on foot which they thought not fit to appear in themselves.” It was, however, negatived, and the king was very much offended. The address was afterwards carried in the lords upon the motion of the Duke of Buckingham, and the commons concurred.

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1667-8.

acted his part with great address, and the States entered into the alliance without waiting for, or going through, the usual forms prescribed by the constitution of Holland.

The whole merit of this alliance has been generally ascribed to Sir William Temple, as if he had been sent into Holland in that hasty manner, without any design or scheme previously formed by the ministry at home: but few, who will be at the trouble of reflecting, can suppose he did not carry with him his instructions; or can imagine, that the States were not immediately sensible of the necessity of their taking this step, without his persuasions. They must have been instantly struck by the prospect of the great and general advantages which must result from such an alliance, and they must have known that, in order to be successful the negotiation must be managed with secrecy and despatch.

On the 19th of January, Sir William Temple brought from Holland the treaty; and, at the same time, the Count Dhona, minister from the King of Sweden, arrived in England. A committee of council * was immediately appointed, to

* By the council books it appears that Lord Ashley was one of this committee.

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1667-8.

settle with the count the articles of a treaty of commerce with Sweden; and these being adjusted, Sweden, by this minister, entered as a principal into the alliance lately concluded with Holland, from whence it came to be called the Triple Alliance. It has, ever since, been commemorated as the wisest step in politics which was taken in Charles the Second's reign; the great end and design of it being to prevent the French king reducing the Spanish Netherlands,* which he had invaded in the preceding summer, upon the pretension of his queen's title to Brabant, after the death of her father Philip the Fourth; though he had made a solemn and formal renunciation of the same upon his marriage with her.

The greater part of the miscarriages of this king's reign had been hitherto owing to the affairs of administration being conducted principally by one man, with the sanction, perhaps, but without the advice of the council. Such was the case in

New regu-
lations for
conducting
public
business.

* This shows that a different scheme of politics prevailed in the cabinet, from what had operated there a few years before; for Lord Clarendon either did not see, or was so negligent of any bad consequences which might arise from the French

king's becoming master of the Netherlands, that he urged it as an argument with Count D'Estrades to induce his master to become a purchaser of Dunkirk, that the possession of this place would favour his invasion of those countries.

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1667-8.

the sale of Dunkirk, and in several other unpopular and impolitic measures. Nothing could be more acceptable, therefore, to the nation than showing that, for the future, everything would have its due consideration at the council-board. The following regulations were made for this purpose in the council; and these were introduced with a preamble, which was intended to convince the public that the king was sensible, or at least willing to have the people think he was sensible, of his former error in trusting the management of public affairs to the sole direction of any one man.

The character and employment of a prime minister was always highly disagreeable to the English people, and is indeed repugnant to the English constitution, being more adapted to an absolute government than to a free and limited monarchy. On February the 15th, the following account was published in the Gazette, viz.: “ His majesty, continuing to pursue what he hath so happily begun for the better regulating his affairs for the future, and having, amongst other important parts thereof, taken into his princely consideration the ways and methods of managing matters at the council-board, on Friday, January

the 31st, declared his pleasure to the board, that certain standing committees of the council, for several businesses, should be henceforth established, together with regular days for their assembling, viz.: :

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“First. A committee for foreign affairs, to which is also to be referred the corresponding with the justices of the peace, and other his majesty’s officers and ministers in the several counties, concerning the affairs of the kingdom, &c.

“To meet always on Mondays.

“Secondly. A committee for such matters as concern the admiralty and navy, as also all military affairs, fortifications, &c. so far as they are fit to be brought to the council-board without meddling in what concerns the proper officers, unless it shall be by them so desired.

“To meet on Wednesdays.

“N. B. The Duke of York did the same day preside at this committee.

“Thirdly. A committee for the business of trade, under whose consideration is to fall whatever concerns the foreign plantations, as also what relates to the kingdom of Scotland, and Ireland, with the isles of Guernsey and Jersey.

“To sit on Thursdays.

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“Fourthly. A committee to whom are to be referred all petitions of complaints and grievances, to whom his majesty hath thought fit particularly to prescribe that they meddle not with property, or what relates to *meum* and *tuum*; to which committee his majesty is pleased that all matters which concern acts of state or of council be referred.

“To sit on Fridays.

“For the rendering which constitution the more effectual, his majesty was pleased to declare, that, for the future, as nothing is to be resolved in council till the matter hath been first examined, and hath received the opinion of some committee or other; so, on the other side, that nothing be referred to any committee until it hath been first read at the board; with other wholesome rules, which are for the future to be strictly observed.” *

Regula-
tions con-
cerning na-
vigation.

Immediately after the framing of this wise constitution, the king was advised to take another step equally agreeable to the people and beneficial to the state. The French king had been very assiduous, and been at a vast expense, in establishing a navy; and our court had shown great

* London Gazette, Feb. 6, 1667-8.

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1667-8.

complaisance, not only in assisting him with ship-builders, but in permitting the English sailors to go into his service, for the instruction of his own. The late invasion of the Netherlands was sufficient to alarm the maritime powers; and upon this account, as has been already said, the triple alliance was made. For the same reason, a proclamation * was ordered, February the 7th, to be issued, publishing several rules and ordinances relating to navigation; among which one was, "that no officer or mariner whatsoever, being his majesty's subject, should presume to put himself into the martial service of any foreign prince or state, or accept of or execute any commission of war, or letter of marque or reprisal, from any such prince or state, or go in any merchant or fishing voyage, in any ship or vessel than such as belong to his majesty's own subjects, without leave from his majesty, or his Royal Highness, his majesty's high admiral, in due form first obtained; and commanding all officers, mariners, and seafaring men, in any such service, to leave the same forthwith, and to get their appearance and return to their native country recorded in the high court of admiralty, or some offices thereunto empowered,

* London Gazette.

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1667-8.

upon pain of being reputed and punished as pirates : and such as neglected to return upon this summons were, when they happened to come into any port or place of his majesty's dominions, to be seized and committed to the next gaol till farther orders ; and the certificates thereof to be with speed returned to the court of admiralty, that the offender might be proceeded against."

The king's declaration to parliament, Feb. 12,

It is evident, by the defensive alliance entered into with Holland, that this proclamation could not be designed to affect the States General : nor, indeed, could it affect them, as, from the great extent of their trade, and the long time they had been in possession of it, they could be in no want of sailors. Besides this, the king declared to the parliament, five days after, " that he had made a league defensive with the States of the United Provinces ; and, likewise, a league for an efficacious mediation between France and Spain ; into which league the King of Sweden, by his ambassador, offered to enter as a principal : that the consequence of this new alliance would oblige him, for the public security, to set out a considerable fleet to sea, and that he proposed building more great ships : and that, for the settling a firm peace, as well at home as abroad, one thing more he held

himself obliged to recommend to them ; which was, seriously to think of some course to beget a better union and composure among his protestant subjects in matters of religion, whereby they might be induced not only to submit quietly to his government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it."

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Particu-
larly in fa-
vour of pro-
testant dis-
senters.

The king had just entered into a defensive alliance for the support of the common cause, and, in consequence of this, proposed to the parliament the building a greater number of large ships. It is very evident, therefore, that the proclamation for calling home the English sailors was calculated to obstruct the schemes of France only, whatever the king's secret disposition might be in her favour, and however generally the proclamation might be worded.

The manner in which the king spoke to the parliament was very remarkable, and plainly proves that it was suggested by that part of the council who were friends to a toleration. The king had before expressed his desire to have a power of showing an indulgence to dissenters from the church of England ; but the word, being general and unlimited, included the papists, as well as the presbyterians, anabaptists, and other

Reflections
upon it.

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1667-8.

protestant sectaries : and, indeed, in his speech February 18, 1662-3, in which he wished for this power of indulgences, he said, "he must confess, there were many of the popish profession, who having served his father and himself very well, he might fairly hope for some part of that indulgence being shown to them, as he would willingly afford to others who dissented from the church."⁷³

Most of the other speeches, from the beginning of this parliament, breathed forth a persecution of the protestant dissenters ; and all attempts to relieve them, or to distinguish them from the papists, with regard to penalties, were looked on as proofs of enmity to the church ; as if its only foundation could be laid on the ruins of professors of the same faith. The pro-

⁷³ The speech of 1662-3, ran thus : " The truth is, I am in my nature an enemy to all severity for religion and conscience, how mistaken soever it be, when it extends to capital and sanguinary punishments, which, I am told, were begun in popish times. Therefore, when I say this, I hope I shall not need to warn any here, not to infer from thence that I mean to favour popery. I must confess to you there are many of that profession, who, having served my father and myself very well, may fairly hope for some part of that indulgence I would willingly afford to others who dissent from us.' But he was obliged to qualify this declaration, by disclaiming all idea of a toleration, and even by desiring that some new laws might be made to hinder the growth and progress of the catholic doctrines.

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moting an union among protestants was certainly the most effectual way of baffling the designs of the papists, whose security consisted in the divisions of the former, especially when these divisions were conducted and enlarged by the hands of power: for, whilst the protestants of different denominations were attentive only to their resentments against each other, the public enemy of both pursued her points with greater secrecy and less interruption. This speech, therefore, from the throne, recommending it to the parliament to think of some course for begetting a better union and composure among the king's protestant subjects, and those only, shows that the Duke of York and his adherents in council had not then the ascendancy.⁷⁴

On the same day that the king declared to the parliament the alliance he had made with the States, the peace with Spain was proclaimed; and the king acquainted the houses,* that articles of

Peace with
Spain pro-
claimed.

* London Gazette.

⁷⁴ James (or his biographer) says of this period: "After the chancellor's removal, the ministers disagreed among themselves. Sir William Coventry was turned out of all his employments by Bucks and Lord Arlington. They all joined to lessen the Duke of York's interest with the king, lest he should get Clarendon recalled.—*Macpherson's Extracts*, vol. i. p. 41.

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commerce with Spain had been lately ratified, by which the commercial relations of the two kingdoms were enlarged, and settled upon lasting foundations.

Order with
regard to
duelling.

The king was advised, about this time, to take a step which could not but be agreeable to the sober part of the nation, and wherein the kings of France had, indeed, set him a good example; which was, to suppress, as much as possible, the fashion of duelling,⁷⁵ then very prevalent, and a fashion that called for the power of the crown to interpose, as it was generally fatal to the principals, and entailed likewise great miseries on their families, by perpetuating

⁷⁵ The Duke of Buckingham now had some influence, and no one had a greater objection to the practice of duelling, although few were more frequently engaged in adventures of this description. About a twelvemonth before, he had been involved in a rather unpleasant affair with Lord Ossory. Buckingham in a debate had said something about Irish understandings, and the young Irishman at the rising of the house insisted upon immediate satisfaction for the insult offered to his country. Buckingham tried in vain to accommodate the matter, and Ossory left him saying, that he should expect to meet him in Chelsea fields with his sword in his hand, in less than an hour. Chelsea fields was a spot at that time very well known and not unfrequently chosen for these encounters, being not far from Buckingham house on the King's private road to Chelsea. But Buckingham happily bethought himself that the fields opposite Chelsea had an equal right to that name, and thither he accordingly repaired, stayed there some time, and of course returned home

discords between them. Accordingly, on the 25th of February, 1667-8, he ordered a solemn declaration to be entered in the council books,* and public notice to be given, that he was resolved thenceforth, that upon no pretence whatsoever any pardon should be granted to any person for killing another in a duel or encounter; but that the course of law should wholly take place in all such cases.

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These transactions in the council, during this short interval, in which so right and good a dis-

* London Gazette.

unmolested. As, however, it was highly probable that Ossory would not allow the matter to rest here, the duke the next morning went down to the house, and there, with many an assurance to their lordships of the readiness with which he was always accustomed to give satisfaction to any one who chose to quarrel with him, and how "suitable and agreeable to his nature" this was, he gave his own version of the whole occurrence. Ossory could only answer, that from the minute manner in which the spot had been described, it was impossible that either could have mistaken it. The house of course interfered, and Buckingham was sheltered from his fiery opponent. The duke succeeded better in a pugilistic encounter he had soon afterwards in the Painted Chamber, during a conference between the two houses, with the Marquis of Dorchester. Buckingham lost a handful of hair, but he brought off the marquis's perriwig as a trophy. Both these stories are told by Clarendon in his Life, who would however, of course, give that version by which the duke appeared the most ridiculous.

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1667-8.

position appeared for the English interest, are thrown together, that the reader may form his judgment from whence they proceeded, and whose advice most probably prevailed at that time.

Inquiry
into the
source of
the national
measures.

Several of our historians, who have contented themselves with extracting from one another, and have not duly considered the characters of those who composed the council, have ascribed the national measures which were then taken chiefly to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, who was made lord keeper when the Earl of Clarendon was dismissed from the office of lord high chancellor; as if it must necessarily follow, that, succeeding Lord Clarendon in the possession of the seals, though but the keeper of them, he must succeed him likewise in all his interest and political power. Sir Orlando had never appeared in a higher light than as chief baron of the exchequer, had never been versed in affairs of state, and was, at the delivering of the seals to him, so far advanced in years, that the reasons given in the *Gazette* for his dismission, five years after, were his great age and infirmities.⁷⁶ At the

⁷⁶ James the Second says of him, that "he was an honest, but a weak man."—*Macpherson*, vol. i. p. 48.

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same time, there were several in the council, men experienced in business and capable of it, and among them Lord Ashley, described even by his enemies, particularly by Father Orleans the jesuit, as a man of a vast genius, one of the greatest England had produced for many years; penetrating, bold, and steady: but this merit is ascribed to him only when any misconduct is charged upon the ministry, and writers are at a loss on whom to fix it; and then his character is raised, as if only to depress it the more.

The spirit which had appeared in the council, in the foregoing instances, arose and operated from a full conviction and experience of the weak and unnatural measures in which the king had been engaged; from the tendency of these, and of the king and some about him, towards popery; from the dependence the king had been brought into, and was himself too much inclined to, on the King of France; and from the large strides which that monarch was making in his schemes of depressing the house of Austria, and gaining the possession of the Spanish crown.

The French king had, agreeably to the advice in Mons. de Lyonne's memorial, postponed the

Conduct of
the French
King.

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war with Spain till England and Holland had weakened each other, though not so much as he desired ; for the peace was concluded sooner than he expected. However, before the conclusion of it, and when he had reason to think that the two powers were very much exasperated against each other, in the same month in which Admiral Ruyter, with the Dutch fleet, sailed into the Thames as far as Chatham, and burnt several English ships lying there, he entered into a war with Spain ; annulled (as is said before) the queen's renunciation of her title to the Spanish monarchy ;* and, with a powerful and unexpected force, invaded the Netherlands upon his queen's pretensions to Brabant, after the death of her father Philip the Fourth.

Though the French king took this crisis, when England and Holland were so warmly engaged against each other, to attack the Spa-

* Upon the French king's marriage with the Infanta of Spain, the Infanta had made a renunciation of all her pretensions, titles, or claims whatsoever to the Spanish monarchy and dominions thereof, or to any part of the same. To prevent any evasions, it was

drawn up in the strongest terms, and with the most binding clauses imaginable : it was ratified by the French king, and was the foundation of his marriage, as this was of the Pyrenean treaty, in which the act of renunciation was incorporated.

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nish Netherlands, which were unprovided for a sufficient defence, he omitted no artifices in order to make his way smoother to conquest. He had offered the Dutch to share the Spanish Netherlands with them, which had been Cardinal Richelieu's scheme, and which the States then wisely refused, though the province of Zealand was for accepting the terms. Wisely did the States refuse the offer; because nothing could be more dangerous to the Dutch than an extensive dominion, which must require proportionable supplies for its defence, and too much divert their attention from trade to war.

After the peace was proclaimed between England and Holland, in the month of August 1667, and the dismission of Lord Clarendon in the same month,—two blows which the French king did not expect,—he sent Monsieur Ruvigny to England, as mentioned before, to sound the disposition of the English ministry, and to know whether they were not entering into a closer union with Spain, which he had reason enough to apprehend, from the treaty of commerce lately concluded.* He exerted likewise his politics, and tried his utmost arts to engage the English court

* Turenne's Memoirs.

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as a principal in the war with Spain. He proposed the securing to England Ostend and Newport, on condition that the English fleet should join with the French. Besides the offer of these ports, he represented the advantages of attacking Spain in the West Indies, which would divide her forces, and render her incapable of resistance.

Reasons on
which the
triple al-
liance was
founded.

Some of the ministry were for closing with this proposal; but it was urged, on the other hand, that it would be attended with most pernicious consequences: that our commerce with Spain would immediately cease, and those advantages would be lost which she had granted by the treaty lately ratified at Madrid: that, if England should gain Ostend and Newport, France would soon be able to drive her out of them when she had got possession of the rest of the Netherlands: that she only wanted to be mistress of the principal ports there to obtain an absolute dominion of the sea: that the sale of Dunkirk had proved an irrecoverable misfortune: that, by our connivance, and even assistance, France had considerably increased her shipping; for whereas, not above three years before, she had scarce twenty men-of-war, she had now above treble that number, and was every day with great application augmenting

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them : that, if she was suffered to become a maritime power, she would soon, by her wealth and industry, command the commerce of the Indies and of Europe, which it would be then too late to think of preventing : that England would only become the instrument of aggrandizing France, by uniting the Low Countries to her dominions ; and either plunge herself into another war with the Dutch, who could never consent to see such ports in the hands of either England or France, or, at least, would force Spain to offer a *carte blanche* to France : that it appeared, by Monsieur de Lyonne's paper, that upon England's joining with Spain and the United Provinces, France would quickly desist from her enterprise ; and that Sweden, which had been ill-treated by France, being weary of serving her interest, might be easily induced to act a proper part, in concert with England and the United Provinces : and lastly, that such an union with France, and another war with the Dutch, would raise and spread a general discontent throughout the nation. These arguments prevailed ; and a plan of a treaty was immediately formed, which Sir William Temple, as mentioned before, was sent to the Hague to execute.

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Terms of
the treaty.

By this treaty a defensive alliance was made between the King of England and the States : they obliged themselves to use their utmost endeavours to induce the French king to stop the progress of his arms in Flanders, and to leave it wholly to the allies to procure the ends proposed in the league. In case the French king should reject the conditions proposed to him, and pursue his conquests, it was agreed that the allies should join their forces with the Spaniards, in order to oblige him to comply with the terms of the Pyrenean treaty. It was agreed, likewise, that they should use their endeavours to establish a peace between Spain and Portugal ; a war having subsisted from the time that the Duke of Braganza had obtained the kingdom of Portugal by the famous revolution of government which had taken place in that country. By such a peace Spain would be at greater liberty to withstand the encroachments of France in the Netherlands. The Earl of Sandwich was sent ambassador to the two crowns ; and the negotiations were so happily carried on, under the guaranty of England, that, about the same time the defensive alliance with Holland and the peace with Spain were proclaimed, Sir Robert Southwell, envoy to the King

Peace be-
tween
Spain and
Portugal.

of Portugal, arrived in England, February the 19th, 1667-8, with the account of a treaty's having been concluded between Spain and Portugal, on the 13th of February, at Lisbon.

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As the court of France had appeared, upon the first news of the removal of Lord Clarendon, extremely jealous of England's union with Spain,* it was justly alarmed at the conclusion of these several alliances; and, soon after, struck up a peace with Spain, which was ratified at Aix-la-Chapelle, May the 2nd, 1668. The three allies, England, Holland, and Sweden, were guarantees of the peace; and an envoy from England was sent to several princes of Germany, to invite them into the guaranty.

Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

France waited for a more favourable opportunity to carry her designs into execution; and, in the mean time, she retained even by the terms of the treaty a great part of her conquests. The maxim upon which she constantly acted was, to make no scruple of breaking through any treaties, and to be the first to enter into a war, as hence she was sure to take her enemies unprovided, and to gain conquests at an easy rate; and then, at a peace, to affect a moderation in receding from

Policy of
France.

* Turenne's instructions to Ruvigny.

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part of her acquisitions, in order to retain the rest. By a steady adherence to this conduct France has been extending her dominions ever since the reign of Louis the Eleventh.

Another maxim which has, likewise, greatly contributed to the grandeur of France, has been to enter immediately into a treaty when an union against her grows formidable. Thus she constantly keeps her own interest in view, and constantly pursues it; making war without anger, and peace without friendship.

State of the
English
council.

Though France secured some important acquisitions by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the forcing her, in a manner, into the peace was no small point gained, considering the inactivity of the court of Spain, and its inability to maintain a war, and considering the terms on which England and Holland at that time stood with regard to France; for England and Holland were both of them weakened by the contest with each other, and the king and the Duke of York were secret wellwishers to the French designs.

The end which was, in a certain degree, obtained by the treaty, might have been, and probably would have been, farther pursued, if the opposition to the French interest could have been

longer successful in the English court. The committee of council which is first named in the regulation lately mentioned was that for foreign affairs. This came afterwards to be called the cabinet-council; and the persons that composed it were the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Buckingham, Duke of Ormond, Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Ashley, Lord Arlington, Sir Thomas Clifford, and Secretary Morrice. They were soon divided into two parties. Prince Rupert, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley, and Secretary Morrice, endeavoured to draw the king off from that strict union in which he had been engaged with the court of France from the Restoration; whilst the Duke of York and Sir Thomas Clifford laboured to carry him back into his former attachment to France; and in this they too quickly prevailed. They were supported by the counsels and money of France, and the king's natural bias turned him that way; a bias which was not a little strengthened by his secret inclination to popery, and the Duke of York's and Clifford's impetuous zeal for that religion. To this zeal the king's indolence, and perhaps fear, made him too ready to submit. What confirms this last suggestion is, the saying of Sir Thomas

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Clifford himself; who, as he came out of the house of commons, when the members had been expressing their joy in the triple alliance, spoke aloud, “Well, for all this noise, we must have another war with the Dutch before it be long.”⁷⁷

From whomsoever the first thought of the triple alliance proceeded, it was undoubtedly a wise and important scheme for the interests of this country, and of Europe in general. It is submitted to the reader whether the following considerations do not render it somewhat probable that the design of it might be suggested by Lord Ashley. He had the principal hand in drawing instructions for the treaty of commerce with Spain; he was, it is evident, in possession of Monsieur de Lyonne’s memorial, and consequently well acquainted with the ambitious designs of

⁷⁷ At this very time Charles was making overtures to the French court. A correspondence with this view was being carried on between Buckingham and the Duchess of Orleans. Charles assured Rouvigny, the French ambassador, that he would be extremely glad to enter into the strictest union with Louis, and that he would willingly make a treaty with him as between gentleman and gentleman, as he preferred his word to all the parchment in the world.

These attempts were several times renewed during this summer, but Louis stood aloof. He wanted either confidence to trust, or gold to satisfy, his royal suitor.—*Dalrymple.*

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France, of the growing power of which he always expressed the greatest jealousy : he was, at that time, high in the favour of the king,* and had a great influence over him. These considerations are strengthened by the letter in the note,† which is inserted here, though out of time, to show the reputation which Lord Ashley had acquired in the kingdom of Sweden.

* Some time before the king had passed several days at Lord Ashley's house in the country.

Stockholm, Jan. 1,

+ My Lord, 1672-3.

The choice of your excellency's noble person to the chancellorship of England hath rejoiced this whole kingdom, and especially me, by reason of the great obligations which your bounty hath laid on me during my abode there. This preferment and dignity was due long since to your high merits ; and I do humbly

assure your excellency, that it is generally believed here, the interest of this and your nation will flourish under the wise conduct of such a renowned chief minister of state as you are. Wherefore I do find myself in duty bound heartily to wish all prosperity to your weighty designs, and to pray, with all respect imaginable, for the continuance of your wonted favour to,

My Lord,
Your excellency's most humble
and most obedient servant,

A. CRONSTROM.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Whatever may be thought of these reasons for transferring to Lord Ashley part of the honour of the triple alliance, they cannot be much strengthened by this letter, which is evidently a mere ordinary letter of compliment. Unless some better evidence than this can be produced, Sir William Temple must remain in possession of the credit which every one has hitherto ascribed to him.

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Duke of
York pre-
vails at
court.

From about this time the Duke of York's power in the court was undoubtedly the prevailing one, and perhaps it was so before, though the king would not permit himself to be carried on so precipitately as the duke and Clifford wished to have done. The popish interest was working secretly and in the dark; and the most prudent and effectual way to check and disappoint it, was by countermining it, and cutting off those springs from which it received its nourishment and spirit.

Our historians have said that the whole of King Charles's revenue was dissipated among his favourites and mistresses; but as the king was a secret papist, it is not improbable that part of it was employed in promoting the popish religion; and the following account may show that the revenue of Ireland was diverted into that current.

Misappli-
cation of
the Irish
revenue.

There were great abuses in the management of this revenue. Out of the money appointed for the civil and military establishment, large sums had been applied for other purposes, and particularly for supporting in a private manner the popish interest. This was suspected by a considerable man in Ireland, who, being alarmed at it, thought necessary to communicate his suspicions to some person in England that would have

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weight enough to remedy the grievance, and on whose abilities, and zeal for the protestant cause, he might rely. Though unknown to Lord Ashley, he, by means of Lord Conway, acquainted him with it. Lord Ashley procured an immediate and express order for an account of the receipts and disbursements for seven years, ending the 20th of March 1666 ; and, in the mean time, sent some queries to Lord Conway, to which he desired that proper answers and such farther information as could be obtained might be conveyed to him by a private and trusty messenger.

Upon receiving the order from England, the accounts were huddled up. Great sums, which had been raised for the year 1667, were anticipated in order to stop the gaps in the accounts of the preceding years ; and by these accounts it appeared that, though vast sums had been paid, no reference was made to the establishments by which they had been directed. Large payments also were set down as made on his majesty's letters, the lord lieutenant's orders, concordatums, and impress warrants, without any notice to whom they were paid or on what considerations. Thus the treasury was almost exhausted ; and thirteen months' arrears were due to the army, which raised a general discontent among the forces.

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This state of things rendered some of the most considerate men in Ireland very apprehensive for the public; especially as they saw that the native Irish were ready to throw themselves under the government of France. Nay, the Irish had actually sent, about this time, to France an offer to deliver up their country into the hands of the French, upon condition of being assisted with arms, money, and officers. The Duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant, was ignorant of the state of the treasury, and had been kept so; for he had frequently said, “he was in wardship under the vice-treasurer.” This, Lord Conway’s friend, the author of the observations on the accounts, says, he had often heard the duke declare. The observations are too long to be inserted in this place; but the following letter, which Lord Conway sent with them, is so material that it ought not to be omitted.

“ MY LORD,

Lord Con-
way’s letter
to Lord
Ashley.

“ IN transmitting these papers to your lordship, which are to give you information upon those I had the honour to receive from you, I am obliged, in the first place, to make my apology for the neglect which seems to lie upon me in the prosecution of your commands; but if your lordship please to remember what you enjoined me, parti-

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cularly to send them by a private hand, who met with many delays which the post would have escaped, and that they went from me the 10th of December last, I hope your lordship will excuse me, as well as the noble author of these observations, who despatched them in two days. I doubt not but, as to the substance, your lordship will find them solid, rational, and very satisfactory, though he passes over those smaller things I formerly observed to you, because the payments in the accounts are not made explicit. Your lordship may expect them, and much more to follow. I should have begged your lordship to digest every particular of these observations, and give yourself the trouble of comparing them with the accounts, but that I know your quickness of parts will comprehend that at first sight which others cannot do without labour and pains, nor with it neither; and it is with these as with other mathematical demonstrations, that every line and angle is to be observed, to make up a demonstration.

“ My assurance of your lordship’s public and generous spirit gives me confidence that you will interest yourself in this affair, both upon account of the king’s service, and for the preservation of the protestants in Ireland; who, we fear,

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are designed to be ruined, and that there is more intended than a private gain. I wish this may be carried on, without doing a particular prejudice to any man. We are now in Ireland full of apprehensions of the French, and find cause to believe, that, to divert our assistance from their enemies, they are creating trouble for us both in Ireland and Scotland. I cannot, with convenience, wait on your lordship till April next; but if I knew that my being there would be serviceable to you, it would hasten me very much.

“I humbly beg to receive a line from your lordship, to be assured of your receipt of these papers; and my next request is, that you would not show them to any man: for, though they are not under the author’s own hand, yet there are some words which are easy to be discerned by those who know him; and I am sure he would not entrust them to any man but your lordship. I wish I had better occasion to serve your lordship, that I might with zeal and fidelity obtain the title I am most ambitious to bear, of,

“ My Lord,

“ Your lordship’s most obedient

“ and most devoted servant,

Ragley, Feb. 28, 1667-8.

“ CONWAY.”

Lord Ashley was zealous for the preservation of Ireland. A great reformation was soon made in the government ; the arrears of the army were ordered immediately to be paid ; another lord lieutenant (Lord Roberts) was appointed ; and a new establishment was soon sent thither, with express orders that no part of the revenue should be applied to other uses than what were expressed in the instructions drawn up at home. By these regulations, and by this speedy and critical inquiry, the protestant interest in Ireland, and very probably that nation itself, were preserved.

The letter from Lord Conway confirms what has been said with regard to the popish interest at court, and the secret workings of that faction in all the dominions of Great Britain ; and shows that it had long been working before there was any public appearance of it. It confirms what has been mentioned with respect to France, and her views of embroiling and amusing the court of England, that she might be more at liberty to pursue her conquests in the Netherlands. It coincides with the advice in Lyonne's memorial, and proves how extensively France had laid her projects, and how indefatigable she was in the pursuit of them. It shows, also, that Lord

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Reforma-
tion of the
government
of Ireland.

Remarks
on Lord
Conway's
letter.

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Ashley was esteemed by those who were most acquainted with his actions, and were, therefore, the best judges of his conduct, to be a true and active friend to the protestant and English interest, and a strenuous enemy to the schemes and power of France.

Lord Ashley's manner of advising the king.

Among other methods which Lord Ashley took to draw the king off from his attachment to France, and to keep him steady in the true interest of England, were his constant endeavours to make him acquainted with the state of the nation and the disposition of the people. Though he laid before him his thoughts on all public affairs with great freedom, yet he did it with a becoming respect. He did not deliver his advice in that magisterial way which had been objected to Lord Clarendon, but with that insinuating address which could not but be appreciated by a man who was (as Lord Shaftesbury has said in a character of him) the best bred of the age.⁷⁹

The following excellent paper is a proof that

⁷⁹ That Charles affected an esteem for Shaftesbury is doubtless true; but, in fact, he merely dreaded him as an opponent, and wished to make him one of the tools of his projected French alliance. While he was yet apparently in high favour, Charles told Colbert, that “le chancelier étoit le plus foible et le plus méchant de tous les hommes.”

Lord Ashley did lay before the king the state of his affairs in this manner. It is, likewise, an evidence that he was early in his apprehensions of the Romish religion, and in providing against its encroachments; that he continued in the same sentiments he had before expressed with regard to the act of uniformity, when he was for taking off the penalties with regard only to protestant dissenters; that he was for softening the penal laws which had been made in the beginning of the king's reign, and particularly the corporation act; and that he had already digested, in his thoughts, a method of keeping the papists from all employments, civil and military, and which he found means afterwards, in 1672, of carrying into a law. The reader will also observe, that Lord Ashley had the justest notions wherein the prosperity of the trade and the true interest of England must consist; and that he was inflexible in his sentiments and concern for the religious, as well as civil rights of the people.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“When I had the honour to wait on your majesty at Windsor, you was pleased to enter into some discourse of the decay of land rents and trade, and the remedies of it; which hath given

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Memorial
containing
his senti-
ments.

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me the confidence to offer your majesty these ensuing considerations of mine on that subject ; and if your majesty shall find in them but half that weight of reason which I am sure they have of honest zeal to your service, I shall not doubt but you will pardon this my address.

“ First. I take it for granted, that the strength and glory of your majesty, and the wealth of your kingdoms, depend not so much on anything as on the multitude of your subjects ; by whose mouths and backs the fruits and commodities of your lands may have a liberal consumption, in proportion to their growth ; and by whose hands both your majesty’s crown may be defended on all occasions, and also the manufactures of both your native and foreign commodities improved ; by which, trade and your majesty’s revenue must necessarily be increased.

“ Secondly. That of late years the lands of your kingdoms have been exceedingly improved, as to the production, by inclosing of wastes and manuring them to tillage and pasture ; and, in the mean time, the number of your majesty’s subjects, by the confluence of many unhappy accidents, has been extremely lessened ; for the late plague and war did (by a reasonable calculation)

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sweep away above two hundred and fifty thousand persons more than the usual course of mortality would have done.

“ Thirdly. A considerable number of your majesty’s subjects are constantly transported to the American plantations for servants, and who transport themselves to those and other parts to enjoy the liberty of their mistaken consciences ; and our products of lands thus increasing, and the persons decreasing who should make the consumption of them, it must necessarily follow that the value of our lands must be reduced to a disability of maintaining the owners and paying your majesty’s necessary aids ; and our manufactures become few, and so costly, that they will not be tendered to foreign markets at such rates as our neighbours can afford them ; whereby the merchant must lose the trade, and your majesty the revenue of it.

“ If this be admitted to be the cause of the decay of rents, then, certainly, the recovery must be by using all rational and just ways and means to invite persons from foreign parts to supply the present defect, and stop the drain that carries away the natives from us.

“ In order whereunto, it is humbly offered to

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your majesty, whether any other expedient whatsoever will be effective to this great and good end without granting that liberty in their religion which every man is fond of ; and on what mistakes soever their profession be taken up, whether in point of blind zeal, or in point of reputation, they will hardly recede from it for any consideration, as we find by too sad experience of the many factions which the late unhappy times have made among us, whom no severity of law in the execution thereof can reclaim to the church of England.

“ It seems to me, that the late act against conventicles hath put it out of question that a toleration is lawful; for it tolerates any dissenters from the church of England to worship God after a different manner, provided they do not assemble in a greater number than is limited by the statute, which limit, I suppose, was set on the single consideration of preserving the public peace. If public peace then may be preserved with it, it is not unlawful to remove that pale so far as may do the work of the present design, of retaining those dissenters who are among us, and attracting others from abroad. And that a toleration may be made to consist with the public peace and

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tranquillity of the present established government both in church and state, it is humbly proposed,

“First. That no person whatsoever shall be admitted to bear any office, ecclesiastical, military, or civil, of trust or profit, but such as can, by the legal test, approve themselves conformists to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England.

“Secondly. That no person whatsoever shall enjoy this proposed liberty but such as shall, without the coercion of law, pay all tithes and duties due from him to the church, parish, and poor.

“Thirdly. That all persons, of what separate persuasion soever, who are members of any corporate town, shall be eligible to any corporation office, and required to give legal testimony of their conformity; and, upon their refusal thereof, be declared incapable to execute the office, and shall pay such fine, and undergo such penalties, as a conformist is liable to in case of his refusal of the like office.

“Fourthly. That in regard the laws have determined the principles of the Romish religion to be inconsistent with the safety of your majesty’s person and government; and that those fanatics of the fifth monarchy are professed opposers of

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all human government; both of them may be excluded from this proposed liberty.

“ And with these limitations and exceptions:

“ That all and every other sort of nonconformists may have liberty to assemble, for the exercise of their own manner of worship, in such public places as the nonconformists can procure; and that the doors of the meeting places do stand open to all while they are at their exercise of prayer or teaching.

“ These expedients may, as it is humbly conceived, reasonably secure the public peace. But as, without this proposed liberty, our desired number of people will not be obtained, so this alone will not be effectual; because men do and may enjoy it in other places, and therefore they must be invited by other temporal advantages. In order whereunto, it is humbly proposed,

“ First. That a general act of naturalization may be passed, with this addition, that all and every artificer or tradesman may freely exercise his art or trade in any part of the kingdom; provided that if they settle themselves in any city or town corporate, where their trades are put under a regulation, they become members of that company which is or shall be erected for the government

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of them; and either by the usual oath or by bond give security for their due observance of the ordinances and by-laws of the society ; and that the society be required to admit them for such reasonable fines as the magistrates of the place shall think fit.

“ And as these expedients may probably attract a multitude of merchants, and other people of inferior condition and trades ; so there is yet one other, absolutely necessary to the obtaining the accession of men of estates and money, and that is :

“ The making all real estates an infallible security to the purchaser or lender, which is provided for by a public register in most parts of Europe ; and if your majesty shall think fit to establish the like here by your authority in parliament, it is humbly conceived that such a method may be proposed as in a few years may put men’s estates beyond all scruple of their title, without prejudice to any honest man, and to the general good of all your majesty’s subjects : and, no doubt, when such security may be had for the purchaser or lender, we shall need no other attractives to bring from our neighbours in foreign parts a great addition of wealthy families to plant themselves and their posterity among us, when

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they may have a retreat into a well-tempered government, enjoy all the immunities, rights, and privileges of it as natives, together with the liberty of their consciences, and fix themselves in purchases of estates in whose title they cannot be defrauded ; and likewise make a greater interest of their money than they can where they now are, on the like security.”⁸⁰

Lord Ashley, by his engaging address and vivacity in conversation, was highly agreeable to the king, who became hereby more readily disposed to confide in the solidity of his judgment. Of this Charles gave a remarkable proof at the meeting of parliament in February 1667-8. He then spoke in a different tone from what he had done before ; by which it appeared that Lord Ashley’s remonstrances had made some impression on him ; for, after acquainting the two houses with the triple alliance, he added,* “One thing

The king's
declaration
to parlia-
ment.

* Lords’ Journals.

⁸⁰ Thus long ago was the necessity of a general registry pointed out : but Lord Ashley had not taken into consideration that natural and very pardonable pride which induces our aristocracy to suffer any inconvenience rather than expose the incumbrances which extravagance or family settlements have imposed upon their estates.

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more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this present; which is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my protestant subjects in matters of religion, whereby they may be induced, not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it."

The commons, however, persevered in their animosity against the dissenters; and, as the act against conventicles had been only temporary, and was lately expired, they passed a bill, and sent it up to the lords, April the 28th, 1668, intitled, "An act for the continuance of a former act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles;" and, on the 4th of May following, they sent a message to the lords to put them in mind of it: but, as the penal laws concerning religion had lost their great advocate in the Earl of Clarendon, this bill was dropped in the house of lords.

Lord Ashley thought that a knowledge of trade was an essential qualification in a statesman, and the protection and advancement of it one of his principal duties. He omitted, therefore, no opportunities of representing to the king its

Bigotry of
the com-
mons
against the
dissenters.

A.D. 1668.

Lord Ash-
ley's repre-
sentations
to the king
concerning
trade.

A.D. 1668. great importance. Charles had an inquisitive mind after knowledge where his pleasures did not interfere. Lord Ashley showed him that the interest of commerce, though formerly neglected, was become an express affair of state with France, as well as with Holland and Sweden: that France began to find trade of more consequence towards advancing her power than any army or territory though ever so great, as it drew such wealth along with it, and gained such force at sea by shipping; and, therefore, since the advantages of commerce were so well understood by our neighbours, it required more attention in our government: that commerce, as an affair of state, was widely different from the mercantile part; this consisting principally in the knowledge of what goods are fittest to be exported from one place to another, and what commodities are most convenient to make returns in, and the nature and course of exchange; but that trade, as a point of policy and government, consisted of many articles:

In countenancing our merchants abroad, as the proper stewards or purveyors of the public stock, wealth, and interest of the nation:

A.D. 1668.

In asserting those privileges, immunities, freedoms, and exemptions of any kind, which, by the wisdom and vigilance of any former age, have been gained or capitulated for :

In taking care of the just dealings of our merchants abroad, that the manufactures exported be without fraud, merchantable, and good ; that the credit of them may be as current as our coin :

In endeavouring, as much as possible, to exonerate our own commodities of and from all such taxes and impositions abroad as are discouraging to the trade of them ; and in watching, and vigorously opposing, any new tax to be laid on them, different either from ancient custom, or from the articles of commerce in force between any respective State and England :

In considering how and by what means we may, with most prudence, discourage and prevent any manufactures of our neighbours which may be a prejudice to England ; especially, if any part of those manufactures be dependent upon us, or upon any neighbouring state or prince in amity with us :

In considering how to increase our own manufactures, and how to invite or reward the bring-

A.D. 1668. ing in or inventing of others; particularly such as are most necessary for us, or with which we may supply our neighbours:

In keeping a vigilant and constant correspondence abroad for carrying on the aforesaid ends:

Lastly. In giving all encouragement to the promoting of our fishery and advancing our plantations, the increase of our shipping and multiplying our seamen.

He told the king, that many of these things did not lie within the prospect of the merchant, much less within his power, care, or consideration; and, therefore, (the distinction being made between the magistrate's and the merchant's duty,) he proposed that, instead of a committee of the privy council, a select council might be established, whose employment should be to take care of the welfare of our colonies, and the trade and navigation of the kingdom; to receive and consider all propositions offered them for the benefit and improvement of commerce and navigation; and to present their opinion and advice upon the same to the king: that the council should consist of such gentlemen as would be more concerned in the generality of the trade of the nation, and the right management of it, than

A.D. 1668.

in the profit of any particular trade, which might possibly have too much sway with private merchants : that their commission should be probationary, and that the powers of it should not be continued above twelve months ; by which the members might know, that unless they gave some evidence of their regard to the commission, and of their prosecuting with diligence the design of the trust, they must not expect to be continued. He drew up many regulations for this council, and delivered to the king a list * of the persons whom he thought best qualified for being members of it. Accordingly, from these persons a choice was made of a president, vice-president, and nine other counsellors. Lord Ashley's friend, the Earl of Sandwich, was appointed president, with a salary of eight hundred pounds ; the vice-president had six hundred pounds ; and the others five hundred pounds each. The commissions were renewed from year to year, and the Earl of Sandwich continued president.

The French ambassador, about this time, delivered a memorial to the king, signed by several French merchants, complaining that the custom-

Council of
trade ap-
pointed.Memorial
of French
merchants.

* The list, with the aforesaid reasons, is still remaining among his papers.

A.D. 1663. house officers entered their houses, and seized their silks and other goods for want of having paid duties at their importation; and that the officers were countenanced and protected in their conduct by Lord Ashley, chancellor of the exchequer. The merchants insisted that, when the goods were once lodged in their houses, they should be privileged from a search or seizure; but, this being contrary to the laws, such a partiality could not be openly showed them. The memorial, therefore, had no effect to the prejudice of Lord Ashley. Whatever secret offence his conduct might give to the English court, it durst not openly blame him for enforcing the laws; especially as the French fashions were becoming very prevalent, to the great expense of the nation, the increase of luxury, and the prejudice of our manufactures.

A.D. 1669.
Lord Ash-
ley's man-
ner of en-
tertaining
the Prince
of Tuscany.

It may not be improper here to relate a circumstance which shows how far Lord Ashley was from imitating the French customs. In this year Cosmo de Medici, the Prince of Tuscany, came into England. He was received with all possible marks of distinction, and entertained by the principal nobility, particularly those who belonged to the court. As many of them were

great admirers of the French taste, as well as friends to the interest of France, they had, with the servile maxims of that country, imbibed its luxury; and this especially appeared in their tables. When Lord Ashley invited the prince, he gave him a splendid, but a truly English entertainment. His dinner was dressed entirely in the English manner, and he told his highness that he would not trouble him with any apologies: others might treat him like a Frenchman, his desire was to entertain him like an Englishman. The prince politely answered, “it was the greatest compliment he could make him;”* and, after he returned into Italy, he sent Lord Ashley, every year, a present of wine, as a testimony of his regard.

In the session of parliament at the latter end of the year 1669, Lord Ashley moved the house of lords to take into consideration the reasons and grounds of the fall of rents and decay of trade; the points upon which he had before delivered

Committee
of lords on
the state of
rents and
trade.

* The prince was so well pleased, that he desired Lord Ashley to give him the bill of fare, which he kept by him so long, that, when the late Lord Shaftesbury was at Florence in 1711, and Mr. Molesworth,

the British minister there, went to make an excuse for his not going to court, through his ill state of health, the prince, who was then Great Duke, showed it to Mr. Molesworth, and told him the story.

A.D. 1669. his sentiments to the king. A committee, of which he was one, was immediately appointed for that purpose. After several meetings they made a report, by the Earl of Essex, who had entered into a firm friendship with Lord Ashley, that they thought the three following things advisable :

“ That the interest of money should be reduced from six to four per cent. :

“ That a bill of registers should be brought in :

“ And a bill of general naturalization.”

The two last resolutions were readily agreed to ; but the first being strongly debated, Lord Ashley and three other lords were appointed to make choice of some of the ablest persons they knew, to give their opinions thereon before a committee of the whole house. The committee, after the hearing, were likewise for the reduction, but the house did not agree to the report.⁸¹

⁸¹ As the proceedings of this committee do not appear in detail upon the Lords' Journals, this account is probably taken from the earl's private memoranda.

The increased intelligence of the present age has recognised the wisdom of the lords in rejecting the proposed enactment with regard to usury. There is now scarcely a difference of opinion among thinking men as to the impolicy of attempting any legislative interference with money transactions. The

A.D. 1669.

The Earl of Essex made a subsequent report, from the committee appointed to consider of the reasons of the decay of trade, “ that it was their opinion that some ease and relaxation in ecclesiastical matters would be a means of improving the trade of the nation;” but, two days afterwards, on the 11th of December, the parliament was prorogued.

When the parliament met again, on the 14th of February, the house of commons, to prevent any steps being taken to relax the laws in ecclesiastical matters, soon passed and sent up to the lords another bill to suppress seditious conventicles. This was debated by the lords for several days in committees of the whole house ; and in one of these, on the 21st of March 1669, the king going unexpectedly into the house, the house was resumed, till he told them, “ he was come to renew a custom of his predecessors, long discontinued, to be present at debates, but not to inter-

A. D.
1669-70.
New act
against se-
ditiouſ con-
venticles.

absurdity of pretending to lower the rate of interest by placing an additional risk upon the sum lent, has been frequently exposed. The usury laws have been recently much broken in upon, and would doubtless have been long since repealed, but the legal rate of interest has been for some time so much above the ordinary value of money, that, being seldom called into use, the harm they do is less conspicuous.

A.D. 1669-70. rupt the freedom thereof;”* and, therefore, he
— desired the lords to sit down, and put on their hats: and from that time the king, as appears by the journals, was almost daily in the house, and
A.D. 1670. sat in his chair of state. The bill against conventicles (probably by the influence of the king’s presence) passed for a year; but when it was sent up to the lords the next sessions, it never obtained a second reading. Nay, a motion was made for rejecting it, but this was prevented by the previous question.

The lords, at that time, were accustomed, as they always had been, to sit regularly in their seats, which undoubtedly added weight to their proceedings; but, soon after, they broke through this decorum so far, that the king himself † took notice of it, and desired the lords would, for the future, continue in their places, and not run about and join in conversation during debates; which he thought unbecoming the decency and dignity of the house.

Increase of
the Duke of
York’s in-
fluence.

The Duke of York’s influence daily increasing, his favourites, who were all of his own religion, were the chief persons promoted. “ He had so powerful a party at court, and so many creatures

* Lords’ Journals.

† Ibid.

A.D. 1670.

about the king's person, that he was in a manner absolute there, and directed the resolutions of the council. Sir Thomas Clifford was the chief person in the duke's confidence, and was entrusted with the most secret designs of the court.* When he made the declaration before mentioned, "that we must have another war with the Dutch," he spoke the sentiments and resolutions of the Duke of York and the popish faction, who now began to be more open in their proceedings, though from the very time of the Restoration they had been engaged in the same pursuit.

* Rapin.

CHAPTER X.

[Intrigues with France.—The two Secret Treaties.—Corruption of the members of the Cabal Administration.] Temper of the Court.—Account of the Cabal.—Lord Ashley's advice to the King.—Discovers the King's conversion to Popery.—Lord Rochester.—Proceedings of the Parliament.—Shutting up of the Exchequer opposed by Lord Ashley.—His reasons against it, and letter to Mr. Locke.—Declaration of Indulgence.—War declared against the Dutch.

A.D. 1670.

THAT disgraceful intrigue was now darkly progressing, which has rendered the reign of Charles the Second the most inglorious in our annals. Even before the triple alliance, Charles, as appears from a letter from Rovigny to Louis, published by Sir John Dalrymple, had solicited a private treaty with France. The attempt was now renewed with more success. James the Second, in his autobiography printed in the Macpherson papers, describes it thus: “The Duke (himself) speaks of religion to the king, and finds him resolved to be a catholic. The king appoints

A.D. 1670.

a private meeting with Lord Arundel, Lord Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, at the duke's closet, to advise on the methods to advance the catholic religion in his kingdoms. They met on 25th of January (1669). The king declared his mind in matters of religion with great zeal to the duke and other three persons at this private meeting. The result of the consultation was, that the work should be done in conjunction with France. The Lord Arundel was accordingly sent to treat with the French king ; and the treaty was concluded the beginning of the year 1670. The French king was to give two hundred thousand pounds a year. The Duke of Buckingham seeks to support himself by favour of Madame, with whom he manages a treaty with France. He sent over Sir Ellis Leighton to treat with her. Neither the duke nor Arlington knew anything of this treaty. The duke, after Leighton's return, had an account of it from himself.

“ In the mean time, the king kept the secret of his agreement with France, and suffered a mock treaty to go on that he might the better cover the real one ; of which neither Madame nor the Duke of Buckingham had the least knowledge. Buckingham's chief drift was to keep himself at the

A.D. 1670. head of the ministry. This management of the mock treaty was kept a secret to the Duke of York and Arlington.”*

Sir John Dalrymple has printed this secret treaty from the draft in the dépôt at Versailles. Charles was to have two hundred thousand pounds for declaring himself a catholic, and an annual subsidy of eight hundred thousand pounds during the projected Dutch war; and as the fulfilment of the articles would naturally excite the opposition of his subjects, Louis engaged to assist him with all his forces “ till the rebellion should be ended.”†

The infamy of this transaction attaches exclusively to Charles, the Duke of York, and Lord Arlington; but the subsequent conduct of Buckingham, Lauderdale, and Ashley was scarcely less criminal. The mock treaty, spoken of by James, was a contrivance by which Charles proposed to obtain the support of those of his ministers whom he could not induce to join him in his designs for the introduction of the catholic religion, for all the articles of the treaty which did not involve that object. The result showed that he had not over-estimated their compliance. The original

* Maepherson, vol. i. p. 51.

† Dalrymple, p. 54.

conspirators were delighted by a proposition from Buckingham that he should be sent into France to try to bring about an alliance between the French and English courts. The offer was immediately accepted, and the duke communicated his design to Lords Lauderdale and Ashley ; the former agreed to it, but Ashley asked time to consider.

Lord Ashley's scruples do not seem to have been very obstinate. A very few days after Buckingham's first proposition, we find Colbert writing to his master, that Buckingham had the direction of Ashley Cooper, who had been raised by him ; and immediately afterwards the duke departed on his embassy. Upon his return, Lauderdale, Ashley, and the Duke of York were appointed commissioners for conducting this *traité simulé*, as it is styled by Colbert. The treaty now concluded differed from the first only by the omission of the clause by which Charles had engaged to declare himself a catholic, and the transfer of the price of his conversion to the first year's subsidy for the Dutch war. The interest and honour of the country, and the security of her institutions, were as unhesitatingly sacrificed by these commissioners as they had been by

A.D. 1670. Charles himself. Nothing was respected but the established religion, and the characters of the parties sufficiently testify, that in this reservation they were actuated by policy rather than principle.

There is but one redeeming circumstance in Lord Ashley's conduct upon this occasion. We may infer from the circumstance of an act having passed, during this year, to enable his son, who was not yet of age, to levy fines and suffer recoveries of certain entailed estates, that his circumstances were somewhat embarrassed ; yet he alone, of all those concerned in the negotiation of these treaties, stands acquitted of having been corrupted with French gold. Arlington obtained a pension of ten thousand crowns ; and Buckingham hinted that he expected two hundred thousand pounds. The commissioners of the first treaty received proportionate gratifications, although the amount is not stated ; and in every instance the money was paid and received with the sanction of Charles.

The golden shower fell even upon the wives and mistresses of the conspirators. The Duke of Buckingham was governed by the Countess of Shrewsbury, who had inspired in him a moment-

A.D. 1670.

ary fit of courage of which his contemporaries thought him incapable. It is said, that when the earl her husband discovered the intrigue, which she was carrying on with Buckingham, and called the duke to account, the countess, disguised as a page, was present at the combat, and held her paramour's horse.⁸² The earl fell, and the duke sought the widow's embraces while yet literally stained with the blood of her husband.*⁸³

This paragon of feminine tenderness now received a pension of ten thousand livres, and promised in return to make Buckingham comply with King Charles in all things.

It is true, that among this mass of corruption we find Ashley included as one who was to receive a present; that is to say, was to be offered one: but Colbert appears pretty accurate in detailing to his master every disbursement he had made in this manner; and as we nowhere again find any mention of Lord Ashley in this disgraceful catalogue, we may fairly infer that the money, if offered, was refused.

⁸² Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.

⁸³ But there is some doubt thrown upon this story, so current at the time, by a MS. note of Sir W. Musgrave, in a copy of Count De Grammont's Memoirs, preserved in the British Museum.

A.D. 1670.

The value of James the Second's testimony, or rather, perhaps, of that of the person who compiled his life, (see Fox's History of the early part of the reign of James II. p. xxvi.) may be estimated by his declaration, that he and Arlington knew nothing of this second treaty.]

It is evident, from all our writers, that the two favourite points with the court were the establishment of an arbitrary power in the crown, and the introduction of popery. The king was zealous for the first, and inclined towards the last : the Duke of York was earnest for both ; and, as his zeal and industry supplied the want of capacity, the king, from his natural indolence, trusted his brother chiefly with the management of these points, by which means he was himself left more at liberty to follow his pleasures, and was screened from the resentment of the nation.

The scheme of arbitrary power was formed from the politics of France, carried on by her instructions, and supported by her interest. From

According to the fashion of that age, the seconds fought as well as the principals ; and there were six combatants upon the ground. The duke was attended by Sir Robert Holmes and Captain Jenkins, and the earl by Sir John Talbot and Mr Bernard Howard. The countess afterwards married a Mr. Bridges.

The king's arbitrary schemes.

her were introduced those two engines of power, A.D. 1670. luxury and corruption, which mutually support and increase each other. Though luxury is always represented as the mother of corruption, this as naturally tends to the improvement of luxury, which, beginning with the higher ranks of mankind, soon spreads, by the prevalence of example, through the body of the people. Each is sufficient to poison the best constitution ; but where they co-operate, their influence is as irresistible as it is fatal. To promote the scheme more effectually, the protestants were divided at home and weakened abroad ; the church was armed with power against the dissenters, and the dissenters were afterwards indulged only with a view to widen the breach ; while every act which enlarged this breach added strength to the crown. In imitation of the French court, the king, soon after the Restoration, throwing off his confidence in the people, established a large body of guards, and raised a great army in Scotland. The interest of France was supported abroad, in return for her assistance to the designs of the court of England. With the same view, the first Dutch war, in 1664, was entered into ; as was likewise the second, in

A.D. 1670. 1672. The last has generally been most execrated against; but they had both of them the same tendency, and were owing to the same counsels.

The Cabal. The whole management of affairs has been generally represented as centering in the five following persons, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale; the initial letters of whose names forming the technical word Cabal, it is probable that the wit, which was thought to be in this conceit, gave birth to the opinion. Nothing can be more evident than that the Duke of York had the greatest, if not the only influence in council; and it should seem that the Duke of Ormond must have had some share in the conduct of affairs: for when the Duke of Buckingham was, three years* afterwards, examined before the house of commons, and was asked by the speaker “which of the ministry had got any great sums of money,” he only mentioned the Duke of Ormond and Lord Arlington, and said of the first, it was upon record that he had got five hundred thousand pounds.

The common opinion of it erroneous.

It will appear, that the members of the com-

* January 14, 1673.

mittee for foreign affairs, which has been commonly called the cabinet council, were far from acting in perfect harmony ; that Lord Ashley was not acquainted with all their secrets, and that he opposed many of their designs. Nay, at the very time in which the cabal is said to have been formed, the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington were declared enemies, and were endeavouring to ruin each other. Bishop Burnet allows that, in the latter end of the year 1668, they fell out ; and Lord Ashley, in a letter to his intimate friend Sir William Morrice, who had lately resigned the office of secretary of state, hints at their disunion in the following words : “ The Lapland knots are untied, and we are in horrid storms : those that hunted together, now hunt one another ; but, at horse-play, the master of the horse must have the better.”*

On the 19th of May 1670, the Duchess of Orleans, King Charles’s sister, came into England, and was met by the king at Dover. There a stricter union was settled between the crowns

Duchess of
Orleans’s
visit.

* As the Duke of Buckingham was at that time master of the horse, it is plain that Lord Ashley alluded to the

enmity between the duke and Lord Arlington, who had been declared enemies of the Earl of Clarendon.

A.D. 1670. of England and France. A treaty was formed for the breach of the triple alliance, and for declaring war against the Dutch; and, to draw King Charles more readily into the snare, the French king engaged to assist him with fifty thousand men, whenever they should be demanded, for advancing his schemes in favour of popery and arbitrary power at home.

This treaty, which was so threatening to the liberties of England, and, indeed, of Europe, proved more immediately fatal to the duchess of Orleans herself; for, upon her return to the French court, she was poisoned, as it was thought, in consequence of the jealousy of her husband, and expired soon after in great torments.

Her death.
Duke of
Buck-
ham's em-
bassy to
France.

The Duke of Buckingham, who had hitherto acted in concert with Lord Ashley, was sent over to the court of France with a compliment of condolence on the death of the duchess. As he was always unsteady in his conduct, he was soon lost in the pleasures, and dazzled with the honours with which the French court distinguished him; went without reserve into its interest; and concluded the treaty with France which had been entered into at Dover. Lord Ashley, who was fearful of the duke's conduct,

and apprehensive of the design of his going, which was kept secret, wrote him a letter* immediately after his arrival in France; in which he conjured him to remember England, and not to negotiate a peace with France, as he valued his honour, his head, and the English nation.

A.D. 1670.
Lord Ash-
ley's advice
to him.

Lord Ashley, with the same openness, acquainted the king that he found such a treaty was in agitation. He represented the fatal consequences of it, and laid before him the great advantages of the triple alliance, the honour which he had gained by it in the nation and in most parts of Europe; it being looked upon as the best security against the power of France. The king owned that such a treaty was on foot, and at the same time declared he was determined not to recede from it. When, therefore, Lord Ashley found that he could not prevail to break the treaty, he endeavoured to persuade the king to make it as consistent as possible with the interest of England.

Lord Ashley's representations to the king.

He was always apprehensive of the French growing powerful at sea, and in particular was fearful of their fleets being acquainted with our

* This letter Mr. Stringer says he transcribed for Lord Ashley into characters.

A.D. 1670.

seas and harbours, and of their sailors being trained up and disciplined in a manner under ours. He represented to the king the danger of this, and so far succeeded, that a peremptory instruction was sent to the Duke of Buckingham to give up the treaty if the French should insist on sending a fleet to our assistance against the Dutch: but this, perhaps, was only to amuse Lord Ashley, and free the king from the uneasiness of hearing counsel which he disliked; for that point was soon yielded to the French.

Lord Ashley was, likewise, at that time, and afterwards, very earnest with the king to take the advice of his parliament before he entered into a second war with Holland, but could not succeed.⁸⁴ This was then so well known, that, when the Duke of Buckingham, on the

⁸⁴ It is singular that the authors of this work, with the papers of Dalrymple before them, have taken no notice of the first secret treaty, nor of Lord Ashley's formal appointment as commissioner in the negotiation of the second.

Charles, having satisfied his immediate necessities, was now in no hurry to embark in so desperate an undertaking as the introduction of the catholic religion. After numerous delays and evasions, the French court perceived that, if he had ever entertained any serious intention of declaring his conversion, he had abandoned it, and they ceased to importune him upon the subject.

14th of January 1673-4, was examined before A.D. 1670. the house of commons, he thought he could not justify himself in a better manner than by saying he had joined in the same advice with Lord Shaftesbury.*

Soon after the treaty with France was concluded, the court appeared more openly in favour of the papists. Many of their priests came over, and were very assiduous in making converts; the number of whom increased every day. The queen and the Duke of York publicly supported them, but the king kept himself somewhat more reserved.

Papists
openly fa-
voured.

* The duke spoke as follows: " My Lord Shaftesbury and myself advised not to begin the war without the advice of the parliament and the affections of the people. This was my Lord Shaftesbury's opinion and mine, but not my Lord Arlington's. Then it was my Lord Shaftesbury's advice and mine, so to order the war as that the French should deliver some towns of their conquests into our hands; an useful precaution in former times. My Lord Arlington would have no towns at all for one year; and here is the cause of the condition of our affairs: we

set out a fleet with intentions to land men in order to the taking of towns; the French army go on conquering and get all, and we get nothing, nor agree for anything."

The duke, after his speech, had several questions proposed to him by the speaker. The eleventh was, " By what counsel was the war begun without the parliament, and thereupon the parliament prorogued?" The duke's answer to this was, " My Lord Shaftesbury and I were for advising with the parliament, and averse to the prorogation."

A.D. 1670.

Lord Ash-
ley disco-
vers the
king's reli-
gion.

About this time, as Lord Ashley, one day, accompanied by Mr. Stringer, was going to the treasury chamber at Whitehall, a messenger met him in the court, and said that the king desired to speak with him at Lord Arlington's lodgings. Upon his arrival there, he found that the king had dined in company with the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Ormond, and Lord Clifford, who all had drunk very freely. The king was desirous of Lord Ashley's company, as his knowledge and vivacity in conversation rendered him always entertaining. Lord Ashley thought this a proper opportunity (the king being heated with wine) to find out what he had for some time suspected—whether Charles was inclined to popery: he, therefore, engaged farther in the debauch than he was used to do, and artfully introduced discourse and debates about religion. His design succeeded, for he discovered the king's sentiments; and, the next morning, expressed to Mr. Stringer his trouble at the black cloud which, he said, was gathering over England. He declared, however, that he was determined to perform his part to prevent the impending danger.

Not long after, the Duke of Buckingham, who,

by means of the Countess of Shrewsbury, had seen the king at his devotion in the queen's oratory, acquainted Lord Ashley with it, adding, that the torrent could not be resisted ; and, therefore, endeavoured to persuade him to submit, rather than stand against a flood which must overwhelm him. Lord Ashley desired the duke to consider what a dishonour it would be for one who had professed the protestant religion to change it, whether from fear, or from worse principles, for idolatry and superstition. He told him farther, that if he lived in Spain, and had there an opportunity of changing popery into the reformed religion, he should not endeavour it any other way than by bringing the people into it gradually ; because a sudden alteration must produce the greatest confusions : much less should he consent in England to change that which he was satisfied was the true religion, and the best calculated to support the civil rights of mankind, for a religion which, in every instance, was as destructive of these rights as it was false in itself ; nor did he doubt but that such an alteration would unite the people so closely, that their weight must sink the greatest men who should attempt it : that he was determined to end his life

A.D. 1670.
His conver-
sation with
the Duke of
Buck-
ingham,

A.D. 1670. in the protestant religion ; and, if his grace would heartily join with him, and be steady in the support of it, he should make no question of bringing the king back from the fatal path into which he had entered. The duke, who was warm in everything at the beginning, but had no principle of steadiness, went out of the room, and returned several times, starting so many doubts, that, at last, Lord Ashley fell into some heat with him, and so they parted.

and with
the Earl of
Lauder-
dale.

The Earl of Lauderdale, likewise, informed Lord Ashley of the same ; and urged to him the discouragement under which any of the king's servants must act who should thwart him in point of popery : but whether Lord Lauderdale did this from his own bias in favour of arbitrary power, or was set on to bring Lord Ashley into the designs of the court, did not appear. As Lord Ashley thought him firmly attached to the protestant religion, he expatiated * upon the happiness and benefits of it, and laid before him the dreadful consequences which must attend any attempt to overturn it : but the Earl of Lauderdale had concerted his measures with the popish junto and with the Countess of Dysart, from

* Mr. Stringer.

whom he had received his information, and whom he afterwards married. He desired, therefore, Lord Ashley to be passive at least; but when he found he could not prevail, he left him abruptly, saying, “ Well, my lord, you may do as you please:” and though he did not become a proselyte to the Romish religion, yet his attachment to the court carried him into all its measures, however arbitrary, unjust, and oppressive, and however hurtful to the protestant interest.

Lord Ashley could not now depend on the assistance of any in the council, except Prince Rupert, who was always hearty for the protestant cause, and Mr. Coventry, who was made secretary of state in the room of Sir John Trevor. He did, notwithstanding, upon all occasions oppose the counsels which prevailed; and set forth their dangerous tendency with such strength and force of reason, that the rest of the junto could not inspire the king with courage enough to put them so boldly in execution as the duke and his friends desired.

In his zeal to make converts to the principles he himself advocated, Lord Ashley applied himself to gain the confidence of many of the young nobility; and if his advice was not always suc-

Lord Ash-
ley's con-
duct in
council.

His advice
to the
young no-
bility.

A.D. 1670. cessful, his politeness preserved it from being offensive. Among other persons, he addressed himself to the Earl of Rochester, whose talents might have rendered him an ornament of his country. He represented to him, that a misapplication of his powers was an injury to the public; and that his course of life would be the ruin of his fortune, health, and reputation. Lord Rochester frankly replied, “ My lord, it is true, and I am obliged to you; but I have really no other way of making my interest at court.”

Lord Ashley's application to the princes of Germany.

Lord Ashley had penetrated the whole design of the French king, who would be the only gainer by the late treaty. He saw, likewise, that his master, King Charles, was going to act a part dishonourable to himself and fatal to Europe. When, therefore, he had done his duty, as a subject and a counsellor, in dissuading the king from concluding the treaty, and in endeavouring afterwards to make it more advantageous, he carried his views farther; and found means to apprise several princes abroad of it, and of the danger which it threatened. This information he gave, in particular, to the Elector of Brandenburgh, the Duke of Saxony, and other protestant princes of the empire. He represented to them the neces-

A.D. 1670.

sity of their uniting against the power and ambition of France ; and he showed them that the French king's intentions were not limited to the overrunning of Holland and Flanders, but were plainly to bring all Europe under his subjection, and to extirpate the protestant religion.

These princes were well acquainted with the character and abilities of Lord Ashley. The Elector of Brandenburgh knew that he had the principal hand in forming a treaty between King Charles and himself soon after the Restoration. They all had reason to believe that Lord Ashley had a perfect knowledge of the designs of the French and English courts : they were alarmed at the intelligence which he sent them ; and soon after engaged the emperor, and other states of the empire, to enter into a league of common defence. Having, likewise, negotiated an alliance with Holland and Spain, who were to supply them with money, a powerful army was formed in Germany, by which the French king was checked in the progress of his conquests, and his affairs were so entangled, that he could not assist King Charles with the fifty thousand men which he was engaged to do by the treaty at Dover. Lord Ashley did not stop here : he took

A.D. 1670. another method to obstruct the measures of the court, to prevent a war with the Dutch, and to render the treaty ineffectual ; of which the journals of the house of lords produce the following proof.*

Meeting of parliament.

When the parliament met, on the 24th of October, the lord keeper, by the king's command, displayed the honour and advantages of the triple alliance ; and he took notice, "that since the beginning of the last Dutch war, the French had increased the number and greatness of their ships so much, that their strength by sea was thrice as much as it was before ; and that, since the end of it, the Dutch had been very diligent also in augmenting their fleets : and in this conjuncture, when our neighbours armed so potently, even common prudence required that his majesty should make some suitable preparations, that he might, at least, keep pace with his neighbours, if not outgo them in number and strength of shipping ; for that, this being an island, both our safety, our trade, and our being, depended upon our forces at sea."

The two houses addressed the king, that the

* The articles relating to this affair are among Lord Shaftesbury's papers.

speech delivered by the keeper might be printed along with his majesty's : but it was not done ; perhaps, because the court was unwilling to expose the fallaciousness of it to the public, or to be bound down to act even on the defensive against France.

Though the greatness of France was used as an argument for getting a larger supply, it is certain that the English court had entered into a firm union with her, and had mutually and privately resolved upon a war against the Dutch. The parliament, not penetrating the design, was intent upon raising such a sum as should answer the exigencies represented. In order to this, a bill passed through the house of commons, for "an additional imposition on several foreign commodities, and for the encouragement of several commodities and manufactures of this kingdom." By this, among other things, a tax was to be laid on sugars imported, and a grant of the tax, which, as it was computed, would amount to near one million two hundred thousand pounds a-year, was made to the king for nine years.

Bill for
taxing
sugar.

Lord Ashley, who knew the secret intentions of the court, endeavoured to defeat by art what he could not prevent by his advice. He engaged,

A.D. 1670.

Petition to
the lords
against it.

therefore, a friend of his, Sir Peter Colleton, to procure a petition from the planters of Barbadoes to the house of lords, for an abatement of the tax upon their chief commodity. They petitioned accordingly, and represented that the sugars would hardly yield so much to the planters as by the bill they should be obliged to pay to the king. The bill was referred to a committee, in which Lord Ashley was the chairman, and a very active one.

A.D. 1671.

Report of
the com-
mittee
upon it.

He made a report* to the house on the 8th of April 1671, that, having heard merchants and other persons concerned, the committee had made some alterations and amendments in the bill; and, among others, one was for reducing the tax upon sugars, to which the house agreed. The commons resented the lords' intermeddling with any bill for raising money; and the lords unanimously resolved to insist on their privilege of abating any impositions, though they did not begin them.

Dispute
between the
houses.

Many conferences passed between the houses; and the disputes were carried to such an height, that, on the 22nd of April, the king prorogued the parliament to the 16th of April in the next year; and thus this supply was lost, which was intended

* Lords' Journals.

as a fund to begin the war. Lord Ashley thought A.D. 1671. that the court would not venture to engage in one without a proper supply, or the sanction of parliament; and he knew that the parliament would not readily enter into a war which was so generally repugnant to the sense of the nation.

When Lord Ashley made the foregoing report, he likewise reported an opinion of the committee that an address should be presented to the king, that he would be pleased to encourage, by his example, the constant wearing of the manufactures of his own kingdom, and to disown such persons, men or women, in court, as should wear any manufactures made in foreign countries; to which the lords agreed, and, at a conference, desired the commons would join therein. Lord Ashley thus endeavoured to restrain and prevent, under the sense and influence of parliament, that expensive luxury in apparel which had been introduced from France, and which was becoming an epidemical evil. The house of commons joined with the lords in the address; to which, some time afterwards, (the day the parliament was prorogued,) the king gave an answer,* “that he had, in his own person, as little used foreign manufactures as

Address in
favour of
English
manufac-
tures.

* Lords' Journals.

A.D. 1671. any ; that he would speak to the queen, and women about the court ; and would comply with their desire in discountenancing such persons as should wear foreign commodities." This answer showed that he was not perfectly pleased with the address, and undoubtedly it was disagreeable to the French faction in the court.

Parliament prorogued contrary to Lord Ashley's advice.

As by these steps it appeared that Lord Ashley was not in the confidence of the ruling party at court, the prorogation of the parliament was another proof of it ; for this was contrary to his advice,* as was the treaty with France. The prorogation was from April the 22nd, 1671, to the 16th of April 1672, and afterwards, at several times, to the 4th of February 1672-3 ; so that it continued a year and nine months. This long recess was designed to gain time for entering into the war with Holland, and that the blow might be struck before the parliament could take any measures to prevent it.

The junto imputed the loss of the subsidy bill to Lord Ashley,⁸⁵ and represented him to the

* This appears by the answer of the Duke of Buckingham to the eleventh question proposed to him in the house of commons.

⁸⁵ But not to him alone. When Buckingham soon afterwards

king as very troublesome to them in their transactions. To pursue, however, more effectually the designs of the French treaty, a method was found out to supply the loss of that bill ; which was, by putting a stop to the payments out of the exchequer, and securing all the money that had been advanced upon the credit of any funds. This transaction was owing to the same counsels that promoted the war, and was calculated for the same destructive purposes.

The declaration for this stop, to which the great seal was affixed by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, was published January the 2nd, 1671-2. The fatal consequences attending this infamous act of power are too well known to be

complained to the king of the loss of a command that had been promised him, “ the king told him, after having heard him peaceably, that he saw well he had forgot the millions he had been the cause of his losing in the last session of parliament, and that, though the affection he had for him had blotted out this offence, he could not help sensibly feeling the effects of it.”—*Dalrymple.*

The new ministers quickly found an alteration in the manners of their master now that he had induced them to join with him in his guilt. The secret treaty Charles thought had bound them as his slaves, and he now began to threaten them when they hesitated to fulfil his commands. Both Buckingham and Ashley were severely chidden upon this occasion, and they endured the reprimand with exemplary meekness.—*Ibid.*

A.D. 1671.

Shutting up
the exche-
quer,

A.D. 1671. mentioned here ; but, as some writers have boldly and without authority asserted that Lord Ashley was the author of the advice, it will be necessary to enlarge upon the subject, and to show that he was not only innocent of the charge, but an enemy to the transaction.

not advised
by Lord
Ashley.

Sir William Temple does not even surmise his being accessory to it ; for, in a letter to his brother, Sir John Temple, dated May the 23rd, 1672, he writes,* “The counsel of stopping the exchequer was carried so secret, that I do not hear of any man at court that had warning enough to call in his money out of the banker’s hands, till Sir Thomas Clifford proposed the thing in council, without other circumstances than saying that it was necessary ; the king must have money for the war with Holland ; that he knew no other way but this ; and desired none would speak against it without proposing some better and easier way.”⁸⁶

* Temple’s Memoirs, vol. ii. fol. 311.

⁸⁶ Hume, therefore, is wrong when, speaking of this affair, he says, “The king had declared that the staff of treasurer was ready for any one that could find an expedient for supplying the present necessities. Shaftesbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately seized and carried to the king,

Sir Thomas Clifford had made the same proposal, in council, the Midsummer before; at which time Lord Ashley opposed it, and with so much vigour that it was then laid aside. Sir Thomas afterwards renewed it, and with that preface mentioned by Sir William Temple; upon which, Lord Ashley drew up the following reasons to convince the king of the hardship, injustice, and ill consequences of this step. These reasons Mr. Stringer transcribed, and went with him to Whitehall, where he immediately attended the king, who took Lord Ashley, with the Earl of Lauderdale and Sir Thomas Clifford, into his closet, where they continued about two hours. Lord Ashley, on his return, told Mr. Stringer he had once more strenuously opposed that inconsiderate and oppressive scheme, but found he could do no good: however, he had left with the king his objections.

“REASONS against stopping the due course of payment in the exchequer.

Lord Ash-
ley's rea-
sons
against it.

“First. It is contrary to common justice among

who granted him the promised reward, together with a peerage. This expedient was the shutting up of the exchequer.” It is not, however, impossible that Shaftesbury was in this instance outwitted by Clifford, and that he now opposed a design which had once been his own.

A.D. 1671.
Sir Thomas
Clifford the
author of
the propo-
sal.

A.D. 1671. men, and, also, to the law, and several statutes of the realm.

“Secondly. It is against your majesty’s constant promises; and, especially, your declaration of the 18th of June 1669, which says, that all funds, present and future, shall be kept sacred and inviolable.

“Thirdly. It must amaze mankind, and will ruin thousands, amongst whom are a multitude of poor widows and orphans.

“Fourthly. It will immediately cause the greatest damp on trade that hath been known, and so concerns your majesty’s revenue considerably; all this money in the exchequer, and a greater sum, being actually lending to your majesty’s several officers, as the treasurers of the navy and army, the chamber, cofferer, ordnance, and victuallers.

“Fifthly. This post will carry it all over Europe, to the great joy of your enemies, who know the use of credit; and the crown of Spain can sufficiently tell what the abuse thereof has cost, which your majesty hath been pleased often to mention as a great mistake in that government, though they never did anything so high as this; it being only upon the farmers of the revenue.”

Lord Ashley made out an exact state of the receipts of the revenue, and also of the issues, both ordinary and extraordinary, for the support of the government; and, upon computation, he found that the advancing of three hundred thousand pounds, and the payment of one hundred thousand pounds monthly, into the exchequer, would fully answer the public occasions. This the bankers undertook to do in case the payments might have continued in their due course; which he, likewise, laid before the king: but it did not agree with Sir Thomas Clifford's designs, who had too much influence to be baffled.

After the stop, the discontents and clamour of the people were as great as they were just. The popish party at court, who projected this scheme, endeavoured to fix the infamy of it on Lord Ashley; and a pamphlet, some time afterwards, was published for this purpose, which was sent to him by one of his friends as soon as it appeared; to satisfy whom, and to justify himself, he wrote the following letter.⁸⁷

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1671-2.

Is charged
with being
the adviser
of it.

⁸⁷ This letter was written to Mr. Locke, and was intended by Lord Shaftesbury to be exhibited as his own justification of his conduct. It has been since printed in Lord King's Life of Locke, doubtless from the original. Lord Shaftesbury there

A. D.
1671-2.

“ SIR,

His letter in
his own jus-
tification.

“ You guess very right at the design of the pamphlet you sent me. It is certainly designed to throw dirt at me; but it is, like the great promoter of it, foolish as well as false. I am very well armed to clear myself, being able to prove what my opinion was of it when it was first proposed to the council: and if any man considers the circumstance of time when it was done, and that it was the prologue of making Lord Clifford lord high treasurer, he cannot very justly suspect me of the counsel for that business; unless he thinks me, at the same time, out of my wits. Besides, if any of the bankers had inquired of the clerks of the treasury-chamber, with whom they are well acquainted, they might have found that Sir John Duncomb and myself were so little satisfied with that way of proceeding, that, from the time of the stop, we instantly desisted from paying or borrowing of money. I shall not deny but that I knew earlier of the counsel, and fore-

says, “The messenger staying for me, I have written it in haste, and not kept a copy.” Yet the letter in the text is evidently copied from a transcript of the material parts, which he must have reserved without any note as to whom the original had been sent.

A. D.
1671-2.

saw what necessarily it must produce, perhaps sooner than other men; having the advantage of being more versed in the king's secret affairs: but I hope it could not be expected by any who do in the least know me, that I should have discovered the king's secrets, or betrayed his business, whatever my thoughts were of it.

"The worthy scribbler, if his law be true, or his quotations to the purpose, should have taken notice of the combination of the bankers, who take the protection of the court, and do not take the remedy of the law against those from whom they had the assignments; by which they might have been enabled to recover their money and pay their creditors: for it is not to be thought that the king will put a stop to their legal proceedings in a court of justice. Besides, if the writer had been really concerned for the bankers, he would have been freer in his discourse against the continuing the stop in the time of peace, as well as against the first stopping of those payments in a time of war; for, as I remember, there were some reasons offered for the first stop, which have a little colour of weight in them, viz. that the bankers were grown destructive to the nation, especially to the country gentlemen and farmers,

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1671-2.

and their interest ; that, under the pretence and by the advantage of lending the king money upon very great profit, they got all the ready money of the kingdom into their hands ; that no gentlemen, farmers, or merchants could, without great difficulty, compass any for their occasions, unless almost at double the rates the law allowed to be taken ; that, as to the king's affairs, they were grown to that pass, that twelve per cent. did not satisfy the bankers, but they bought up all the king's assignments at twenty or thirty per cent. profit ; that the king was at a fifth part loss in all the issues of his whole revenue. Besides, in support of this counsel, I remember it was alleged by those that favoured it without doors, (for I speak only of them,) that the king might, without any damage to the subject, or unreasonable oppression upon the bankers, pay them six per cent. interest during the war, and three hundred thousand pounds a-year of their principal as soon as there was peace ; which, why it is not done, the learned writer, I believe, hath friends that can best tell him.⁸⁸ “I am, &c.”

⁸⁸ The remainder of this letter, after the plea of haste which I have before quoted, consists of expressions of friendship, and a warm invitation to St. Giles. There is, also, mention made

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1671-2.

The last paragraph in this letter makes it evident that Lord Ashley thought the pamphlet was written by a friend of the court, and, perhaps, by one of the ministry ; which shows that he was not admitted into their most secret designs, that there was no harmony between them, and that they thus early endeavoured to fix upon him the odium of their unpopular schemes.

What Lord Ashley writes here with regard to the conduct of the bankers, he might probably say to several of his friends. The extortion of the bankers must have been notorious. However, it is plain, from the tenor of this letter, that he did not look upon it as a justification of the stop, and that he had condemned and opposed the proceeding. It is possible he might speak of the great extortion of the bankers in the same manner as in his letter ; and this might occasion Bishop Burnet's writing the following account of it, which is very remarkable.

Remarks
on Bishop
Burnet.

of the annuity which has been already noticed. It seems that Locke was at this time seeking to invest some money in this manner ; and Shaftesbury offers, if he cannot elsewhere obtain a better bargain, to grant him one at seven years' purchase : for, he says, he would leave him free from care, and would have him think of living long and at ease. This letter is dated Nov. 23, 1674.

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1671-2.

"Lord Shaftesbury was the chief man in this advice. He excused it to me, telling me what advantage the bankers had made, and how just it was for the king to bring them to an account for their usury and extortions ; and added, that he never meant the stop should run beyond the year. He certainly knew of it beforehand, and took all his own money out of the bankers' hands, and warned some of his friends to do the like." After a positive assertion that Lord Shaftesbury was the chief man in the advice, the bishop, in the same sentence, says that he certainly knew of it beforehand. This is, to say the least of it, a very incorrect way of writing, and a proof that the bishop had not the greatest certainty for his first assertion.

Duke of
Ormond's
declaration
in favour of
Lord Ash-
ley.

The Duke of Ormond, some time after, being in company where the stop of the exchequer was the subject of conversation, declared "that he wondered why people accused Lord Ashley of giving that advice; for he himself was present when it was first moved by Lord Clifford in council, and he heard Lord Ashley passionately oppose it."

Lord Ash-
ley's reply
to Lord
Chancellor
Finch.

Some years after, when Lord Ashley (then Earl of Shaftesbury) was entirely out of favour,

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Lord Chancellor Finch, being attacked by him for some of his proceedings, instead of vindicating himself, only answered, by way of recrimination, that he did not advise the breaking of the triple alliance ; he did not advise the stop of the exchequer ; nor did he advise the making of the Dutch war.* Lord Shaftesbury immediately replied with great coolness, appealing to the lords of the council, who were in the house, whether these transactions were owing to his advice. He accused nobody, but spoke in such a manner that the whole house seemed convinced of his innocence. Upon this, Lord Arlington, who had no good understanding with the chancellor, asked the king, who was then present, which of the two had acted most respectfully towards him ; since he knew how open Lord Shaftesbury could have laid those affairs, and yet, under such provocations, he only cleared himself, and still kept the secret. Upon this, the king rebuked the chancellor for meddling with the secrets of the council in so public a place ; and told him, he knew nothing of those matters.

The reader, if he recollects Lord Ashley's con-

* Lord Mohun told this to Mr. Stringer the day when it happened in the house of lords.

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Farther
vindication
of Lord
Ashley.

duct with respect to Mr. Holles, when accused in the house of commons, and what Mr. Locke says of him, “that he thought every man was under an obligation to secrecy in private conversation, though not asked to it,” will see, by the caution observed in the foregoing letter, (where he says, he will speak only of those who favoured the scheme without doors,) and by his answer to the lord chancellor, that he steadily adhered to the same principles in his behaviour here, where, indeed, he was under a stricter tie,—his oath in council.

Could he have dispensed with this, and the obligation which he thought himself under to secrecy even on the smallest occasions, he might easily have cleared himself to the world of the suspicions raised against him, and have pointed out the authors of the pernicious counsels which had been given.

Principles
of the
court.

Those who consider the conduct of the court can, however, be at no loss to discover the source of these counsels. From the beginning of King Charles the Second’s reign, popery was the principal agent; and, though its operations were at first secret, its influence was always great, and its power constantly increasing. The zealots for it were inflamed with their design, and were fond

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of the most violent measures. The interest of France was promoted to advance that of Rome. The penal laws against the dissenters, the division of the protestants, the wars with Holland and league with France, the prorogations of parliament and the shutting up of the exchequer, all came from the same fountain. They had the same tendency, the same air of violence; as was, likewise, the case with regard to the subsequent actions of this reign. Everything was conducted with a view to carrying on the scheme of government begun at the Restoration, and settled by the treaty at Dover. For the effectually promoting of the scheme a French mistress of state⁸⁹ was given to King Charles. By this means a door was opened for a more convenient access of the emissaries from France; the secrets of our counsels were better known, and discovered to the French king; and the severest of his commands were more softly conveyed.

Sir Thomas Clifford was zealous for bringing in

⁸⁹ It is scarcely necessary to observe that this was Louisa de Querouaille, the celebrated Duchess of Portsmouth. The articles of impeachment against her, published in the 8th volume of Lord Somers' Tracts, contain some curious instances of her influence over Charles, and of the manner in which it was exercised. Mrs. Jameson, in her "Beauties of the Court of Charles the Second," has sketched this lady in her usual happy manner.

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1671-2.

the popish religion ; and as the Duke of York adhered to his interest, and earnestly promoted him, Sir Thomas made his way to the chief ministry.

Declaration
of indul-
gence.

By his advice, on the 15th of March 1671-2, a declaration was published for suspending the execution of the penal laws against the nonconformists and recusants. This, Sir Thomas Clifford, who was a bold enterprising man, proposed with a design to favour the papists : his reason for it was, as he said, that, when the king was engaging in a foreign war, it was necessary to make all his subjects easy at home. Lord Ashley, who had as much boldness as Sir Thomas, but more sagacity, presently closed in with his proposal, but upon different views, as being in principles and interest diametrically opposite to him. Lord Ashley was acquainted with the secret of the king's religion, and perceived that numbers of people were turning to it at that time. He knew that great multitudes frequented the chapels of the queen, the Duke of York, and the foreign ministers, as well as many oratories in other houses ; and that they had, underhand, sufficient liberty and encouragement to profess popery without obstruction from any magistrates ; so that it was, almost insensibly,

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increasing very fast in the kingdom. He thought it requisite that the nation should be alarmed in time, and informed who the persons were that protected the papists. He foresaw the clamours which the public indulgence of them would raise, and knew that those clamours would be the surest foundation for an opposition to the interest which prevailed at court. His policy succeeded so well, that the most considerable papists were soon after much disturbed at the declaration. They thought that Lord Clifford had betrayed them, by setting them so open to view, when they got nothing by it, having before all the advantages which they could expect without being observed; whereas this raised a storm in the kingdom, which they were afraid would fall heavy upon them. The clergy were angry with regard both to the dissenters and the papists.

The public saw that it was principally designed in favour of the last; a circumstance which, for a time, united all the protestants, whether members of the established church or nonconformists, closely together. The pulpit exclaimed against the indulgence, and the parliament afterwards fell upon it with vehemence.

Among many reasons which Lord Ashley gave

Discontent
occasioned
by it.

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1671-2.

Lord Ash-
ley's reasons
in favour of
it.

to justify his support of the declaration,* were, “That it was for the interest of the Church of England: for the narrow bottom they had placed themselves upon, and the measures they had proceeded by, were so contrary to the properties and liberties of the nation, that they must needs, in a short time, prove fatal to them; whereas this led them into another way, to live peaceably with the dissenting and differing protestants both at home and abroad, and so by necessary and unavoidable consequences to become the head of them all.— As to the protestant religion, he said, it was for the preserving of that, and that only, that he heartily joined in the declaration; for besides that

* Bishop Burnet, speaking of this declaration, says, “ Bridgeman refused to put the seals to it, as judging it contrary to law; so he was dismissed, and the Earl of Shaftesbury was made lord chancellor.” This carries an insinuation that the seals were put to it by Lord Shaftesbury, and that he was made chancellor for that purpose. What the bishop says can be taken in no other light; but he was mistaken in the fact, for Bridgeman did affix the seal to it, and Lord Shaftesbury

was not made lord chancellor till eight months after the declaration was published. The following extracts from the London Gazette will render the matter undeniable.

“ *Whitehall, March 18, 1671.*

“ His majesty did, on the 15th instant, with the advice of his privy council, issue a declaration for the maintaining of the Church of England in its doctrine, discipline, and government, as it is established, and for indulging of nonconformists and dissenting per-

A. D.
1671-2.

he thought it his duty to have care, in his place and station, of those he was convinced were the people of God and feared him, though of different persuasions, he knew nothing else but liberty and indulgence which could possibly secure the protestant religion in England.—As for the toleration of popery, he could confidently say, that the papists had no advantage in the least by this declaration that they did not as fully enjoy, and with less noise, by the favour of all the bishops; and that it was the vanity of the lord keeper,* that they were named at all, for the whole advantage was to the dissenting protestants, which were the only men disturbed before.”†

sons (to which the reader is referred) in matters of religion.”

Whitehall, Nov. 17, 1672.

“ His majesty, reflecting upon the age and infirmities of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, lord keeper of the great seal of England, hath thought fit to admit of his resignation thereof, with all demonstration, on his majesty’s part, of his kindness and esteem of the said lord keeper’s merit towards him; and his majesty, willing to gratify the uninterrupted good services of the Earl of

Shaftesbury, chancellor of the exchequer, and one of the lords commissioners of the treasury, was pleased this day to give unto him the keeping of the said great seal, with the title of Lord Chancellor of England.”

* By this expression it is apparent that Sir Orlando Bridgeman was not only for the declaration, but for granting in it an indulgence to the papists.

† A Letter from a Person of Quality.—*Locke’s Posthumous Works.*

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1671-2.

[The reasons which Lord Shaftesbury gave to Mr. Locke for his conduct in this instance are well worthy of insertion; they contain much manly argument and much flimsy sophistry. It was an object worthy of an enlightened statesman, attempted to be brought about by most unconstitutional means. Where he advocates the object, he delivers sentiments now no longer disputed, but very far in advance of the age in which he lived; where he defends the means, he sinks with his subject, and copies the common-places of the court.

“The Lord Shaftesbury, with whom I had more freedom, I with great assurance asked, ‘what he meant by the declaration? for it seemed to me (as I then told him) that it assumed a power to repeal and suspend all our laws, to destroy the church, to overthrow the protestant religion, and to tolerate popery.’ He replied all angry, ‘that he wondered at my objection, there not being one of these in the case; for the king assumed no power of repealing laws, or suspending them, contrary to the will of his parliament or people. Not to argue with me at that time the power of the king’s supremacy, which was of another nature than that he had in civils, and had been exercised without exception in this very

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1671-2.

case by his father, grandfather, and Queen Elizabeth, under the great seal, to foreign protestants become subjects of England: not to instance the suspending the execution of the two acts of navigation and trade, during both this and the last Dutch war, in the same words, and upon the same necessity; and as yet without clamour that ever we heard. But to pass by all, that this was certain, a government could not be supposed, whether monarchical or of any other sort, without a standing supreme executive power fully enabled to mitigate or wholly to suspend the execution of any penal law in the intervals of the legislative power; which when assembled, there was no doubt but, wherever there lies a negative in passing a law, there the address or sense known of either of them to the contrary—as, for instance, of either of our two houses of parliament in England—ought to determine that indulgence, and restore the law to its full execution. For, without this, the laws were to no purpose made if the prince could annul them at pleasure: and so, on the other hand, without a power always in being of dispensing upon occasion, was to suppose a constitution extremely imperfect and impracticable; and to cure those with a legislative power always

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in being is, when considered, no other than a perfect tyranny.' ”

This reasoning shows that Mr. Locke's view was perfectly correct. According to it, the king had only to dissolve his parliament, and he might repeal every penal law in the statute-book. The earl then applies himself to the object of the declaration; and after the passage quoted in the text, Mr. Locke continues, “And yet he confessed to me, that it was his opinion, and always had been, that the papists ought to have no other pressure laid upon them but to be made incapable of office, court, or arms, and to pay so much as might bring them at least to a balance with the protestants for those chargeable offices they were liable unto. And he concluded with this, that he desired me seriously to weigh whether liberty and property were likely to be maintained long in a country like ours, where trade is so absolutely necessary to the very being as well as prosperity of it; and, in this age of the world, *if articles of faith and matters of religion should become the only accessible ways to our civil rights.*”

Sir Thomas Clifford's remarks in relation to this indulgence have at least the merit of can-

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dour. He told Mr. Locke in express terms, "that the king, if he would be firm to himself, might settle what religion he pleased, and carry the government to what height he would." *

This indulgence was agreed to by Charles only as a means of obtaining money without the aid of parliament. It was a direct breach of his private policy. This, however, the opposition of the parliament remedied for him. Colbert writes to his master, "I found the King of England, the Duke of York, and my Lord Arlington, all well-disposed not to lose any time in the execution of the things that have been promised. There is nothing however yet determined for the principal point, and they don't even pretend to fix it till they return to London and see what may follow from the severity with which the king designs to make the last act of parliament against the meetings of the sectaries be observed; and he hopes that their disobedience will give him the easier means of increasing the force of his troops, and coming speedily to the end he proposes." †]

On the 17th of March 1671-2,‡ two days after

War de-
clared
against the
Dutch.

* Letter from a Person of Quality.

† Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 61.

VOL. I.

‡ "Lord Clifford's violence in beginning the war gave it an ill air in general, and a disuse

A.D.
1671-2.

the appearance of this declaration, the king, by the same advice, published a declaration of war against the States General. This war had been concerted with the French king, who published his declaration likewise on the same day, and pursued his conquests with such success, that Holland was in the utmost danger of being lost.

of parliaments a cruel maim
in the chief sinews of war."—
Sir William Temple's Memoirs,
tom. ii.

"It was so far set on foot

by the Roman Catholic party,
that it was called Lord Clif-
ford's war."—*Dr. Davenant's
Essay upon the Balance of
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